TAMIL CULTURE

Vol. VI - 1957

தனிநாயகம் அடிகளார்

உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்

International Institute of Tamil Studies

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அணிந்துரை

காலத்தால் உருவாகியும் வளர்ந்தும் முதிர்ந்தும் மொழிகளுக்கெல்லாம் மூத்த மொழியாக இருப்பது தமிழ்மொழி, எனினும் அதன் இளமையையும் எளிமையையும் தெளிவையும், இனிமையையும் உலகறியச் செய்ய முனைப்புடன் செயல்பட்ட அறிஞர் பெருமக்கள் பலர். அவர்களுள் "திறமான புலமையெனில் வெளிநாட்டார் அதை வணக்கம் செய்தல் வேண்டும்" என்ற மகாகவியின் மந்திர மொழிக்கேற்பத் தமிழ்மொழியின் பெருமையை உலகமெலாம் பரவச் செய்த பெருமக்களுள் தவத்திரு ***தனிநாயக அடிகளாரும்*** *ஒருவர். அவர் உலக நாடுகளுக்கெல்லாம் தாமே தூதாகச் சென்று தமிழின் பெருமையை, தமிழனின் அருமையை, தமிழ்நாட்டின் தனித்தன்மையை எடுத்துக் கூறித் தமிழின் உயர்மொழிப் பண்பை உலகறியச் செய்தவர். உலகத்தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம் தோன்றக் காரணமானவர்.*

உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி மாநாடுகள் காணச் செய்தவர். ஈழத்தில் 02.08.1913இல் நாகநாத கணபதி பிள்ளைக்கும் (ஹென்றி ஸ்தனிஸ்லாஸ்) சிசில் இராசம்மா வஸ்தியா பிள்ளைக்கும் திருமகனாகத் தோன்றியவர். உலகெங்கும் சென்று உயர்தமிழுக்கு உரிய பெருமை கிடைக்கப் பாடுபட்டவர்.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளார் உலக நாடுகளுக்குச் சென்று தமிழ்மொழியின், தமிழ் இனத்தின் பெருமையை

உலகறியச் செய்தபோது ஆய்வாளர்களும் தமிழ் ஆர்வலர்களும் தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி இதழொன்று ஆங்கிலத்தில் வெளியிட வேண்டும் என்ற கருத்தினை அவரிடம் தெரிவித்தார்கள்.

அதன் பயனாக உலக நாடுகளில் பணியாற்றிவரும் தமிழறிஞர்களை ஒருங்கிணைத்துத் தமிழாராய்ச்சியை ஒருமுகப்படுத்தவும், வளப்படுத்தவும் 1952இல் Tamil Culture என்னும் முத்திங்கள் இதழை அடிகளார் தொடங்கினார். அவ் இதழில் தமிழ்ப்பண்பாடு, தமிழர் கல்விநிலை, தமிழர்களின் சிந்தனைச் செழுமை பற்றிய கட்டுரைகளைச் சமகால மேலைநாட்டு இலக்கியத் திறனாய்வுக் கோட்பாடுகளுக்கேற்ப அடிகளார் எழுதினார். மேலும் பல மேநாட்டறிஞர்களின் கட்டுரைகளையும் இடம்பெறச் செய்தார். அவருடைய நூற்றாண்டு விழா, **மாண்புமிகு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்களின் மேலான ஆணைப்படி தமிழ்நாடு அரசின் சார்பில் உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தில் சிறப்பாக நடத்தப்பட்டது. அவர் தொடர்புடைய நூல்கள் வெளியிடப்பட்டு அவரது தமிழ்ப்பணி போற்றப்பட்டது.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரை ஆசிரியராகக் கொண்டு 1952 ஆம் ஆண்டு முதல் முத்திங்களிதழாக Tamil Culture என்னும் இதழ் வெளிவந்தது. இவ்விதழின் தொகுப்புகள் இன்று உங்கள் கரங்களில் தவழ்கின்றன.

இவ்விதழ்கள் தமிழ்த் தொண்டு பரவுசீர்க் கருத்துக் கருவூலங்கள்; காலங் காலமாக நாடெங்கும் ஒளிவீசக் கூடியவைகள்; அருகிவரும் தமிழாய்வுக் களங்களுக்கு கலங்கரை விளக்கொளிகள்; அரிதின் முயன்று அன்னைத் தமிழ் வளர்த்த தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரின் Tamil Culture முத்திங்கள் இதழ்களை ஆண்டுவாரியாக ஒன்றுதிரட்டித் தொகுப்பு நூல்களாக வெளியிடப்படுகின்றன.

தமிழறிஞர்களின் தமிழ்த் தொண்டினை எப்போதும் பாராட்டுவதில் முதன்மையானவர் **மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்கள் ஆவார். மாண்புமிகு அம்மா அவர்கள் தமிழ் மீதும் தமிழர் மீதும் தமிழ்நாட்டின் மீதும் தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டின் மீதும்

கொண்டுள்ள அன்பும் கருணையும் அளப்பரியன. ஆதலால், இவற்றின் மேம்பாட்டுக்கெனப் பல திட்டங்களை மேற்கொண்டு வருகின்றார்கள். ஒல்லும் வகையெல்லாம் தமிழ் வளர்த்து வரும் **மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித்தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்களுக்கு உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தின் சார்பில் நன்றிகளைப் பதிவு செய்கின்றேன்.

தமிழ் மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கு ஆக்கமும் ஊக்கமும் அளித்துவரும் மாண்புமிகு தமிழ் ஆட்சிமொழி, தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டுத் துறை, தொல்லியல் துறை (ம) பள்ளிக் கல்வித் துறை அமைச்சர் கே. சி. வீரமணி அவர்களுக்கும் நன்றி.

தமிழ் வளர்ச்சிப் பணிகளில் ஆர்வத்தோடு நாட்டம் செலுத்தித் தமிழ்த் தொண்டாற்றிவரும் தமிழ்வளர்ச்சி மற்றும் செய்தித்துறைச் செயலாளர் முனைவர் மூ.இராசாராம் இ.ஆ.ப. அவர்களுக்கும் இதயம் கனிந்த நன்றியினைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.

இந்நூல் சிறப்பான முறையில் மறு அச்சுப் பெற முனைந்து உழைத்த உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவன அனைத்துப் பணியாளர்களுக்கும் அச்சகத்தார்க்கும் என் நன்றி.

இயக்குநர்

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செந்தமிழ் நாடெனும் போதினிலே இன்பத்
தேன்வந்து பாயுது காதினிலே.

The sixth year of the publication of *Tamil Culture* synchronises with an historic event of interest to all Tamilophiles. For the first time, the dreams of the poets, sages, and thinkers, who conceived the Tamil triple kingdom as one cultural, linguistic, and political unity, is realised in a manner which those same poets, sages and thinkers of nineteen hundred years ago would never have imagined. Their dreams of "தமிழகம்", "தமிழ்", "தொடுத்த தண்டமிழ் வரைப்பகம்", "பொதுமை சுட்டிய மூவருலகம்" have come to be realised in the establishment of the Tamil State in this mid-twentieth century, with certain losses, it is true, due to the changes that centuries have brought about, but substantially a tribute to the longevity and the vitality of Tamil Culture, ever-ancient and ever new.

May the Tamil State prosper. தமிழ் நாடு வாழ்க!

Recent trends in Ceylon politics, however, have been far from encouraging. The language policies of the parties representing the Sinhalese-speaking group are an affront and an insult to human dignity and to human rights. We hope wiser statesmanship will prevail; cultural and linguistic autonomy with recognition of an official status to Tamil are the conditions indispensable to the existence of Ceylon as a single political unit. We congratulate the Tamil-speaking nation of Ceylon on its stand for Tamil language rights and for fundamental human freedoms.

Tamil Culture has reasons to congratulate its readers on its sixth year of publication, and to hope that they will continue to sponsor the movements which it has initiated

or fostered. When *Tamil Culture* went to print five years ago the founder-editor communicated to his first collaborators that, if the quarterly could be maintained for at least five years, he would feel amply rewarded for having undertaken the venture. But now, thanks to the founding of the Academy of Tamil Culture in Madras and similar cultural bodies in Ceylon, Malaya, South Africa, and other countries, *Tamil Culture* may hope to have a longer lease of life and a wider area of service.

During these five years, the members of the Editorial Board have on several occasions received, either in person or through correspondence, the assurance from scholars resident in many countries of the world that this official organ of the Academy of Tamil Culture answers needs long felt in comparative studies of culture and literature. To the foreign scholars who have been associated with *Tamil Culture,* the Editorial Board offers special thanks. To our subscribers at home in the Tamil-speaking countries, and to the Tamil scholars who have contributed articles to *Tamil Culture*, while thanking them we make the request that they introduce the quarterly to their friends. For, though the circulation figure of *Tamil Culture* is about a thousand, that figure needs to be at least five thousand in order to meet without anxiety the financial commitments of maintaining a quarterly review of this standard. The Tamil-speaking public in various countries could help us to increase our circulation. If such promotional work has not been undertaken so far it is because several Tamils have not heard of *Tamil Culture* or have not been made aware of the need for such a review.

We have endeavoured to make *Tamil Culture* a forum for the discussion also of problems of contemporary interest in the field of Tamiliana and hence our special appeal to prospective contributors is for studies, surveys, articles and reviews about modern Tamil literature and modern Tamil art and discussions on subjects of topical interest related

to the Tamil speaking nations of which form component groups in different countries like India, Ceylon, Malaya, Fiji, Mauritius and South Africa.

To Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai, the embodiment of Tamil culture, pioneer worker in the Tamil Renaissance, friend, philosopher and guide of the younger generation of Tamil students and scholars and our distinguished colleague, the Academy of Tamil Culture offers its congratulations on the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature conferred on him by the University of Madras, at the Special Convocation held during the University's Centenary celebrations.

A seminal period of Indian thought

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

The sixth century B.C. is a date which may be conveniently used to denote a most seminal and decisive period in the history of Indian thought. The sixth century B.C. together with the century which preceded it and the one which followed it belong to an era which is commonly held to be the Axial Era of the world (800-300 B.C.) because it was during this era that man in India, in Greece and in China, questioned accepted patterns of life and initiated movements of thought which continue to influence mankind to our own day.[1] The educational systems which prevailed in the Tamil country after the bardic and poetic periods had their origin in Northern India. Brahminism, Jainism, Buddhism and Ajivikism were expounded in Northern India and attained in the areas of their origin considerable development in the definition and systematization of their doctrines and institutions before they were ever introduced into the Tamil country. A knowledge of the circumstances of their origin and of the influences which led to their development in Northern India, is indispensable for the understanding of the patterns of education and the didactic methods which they employed in the South.

It is not possible to explain in any satisfactory manner what events contributed to make the sixth century a most seminal period of Indian thought, since we lack the data

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[1] Confucius (c. 550-478); Lao-Tsu (c. 600); Thales (640-546 B.C.); Pythagoras (c. 532); Socrates (c. 470-399 B.C.); Plato (427-347 B.C.); Aristotle (384-322 B.C.).

See W. E. SOOTHILL, *Three Religions of China*, p. 77, O.U.P., London, 1952.

T. W. RHYS-DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, 6th ed., pp. 131-132, Susil-Gupta, Calcutta, 1955.

necessary for such an explanation. Perhaps it was a movement of peoples within India, perhaps it was the same overseas trade with the maritime peoples of the Mediterranean which is said to have brought the first patterns of the Brahmi script to India, perhaps it was contact with the Achaemenid empire, perhaps political upheavals within India, perhaps it was either one or more of these factors which furnished the sudden stimulus to the advance in religious and ethical speculative thought.[2] Further, the culture impact of the Indo-Aryans by now long settled and mixed with the indigenous population, after a career of war, conquest and consolidation in the Indo-Gangetic plain, may be considered another remote but important explanation for the intellectual ferment which appeared in the sixth century. The efflorescence resulting from the miscegenation and cultural fusion of pre-Aryans and non-Aryans with the invaders has been compared to the fusion in Attica (Athens) of the fair-haired northerner and the dark-haired Pelasgian, and the fusion in Latium (Rome) of the ancient Etruscans with later invaders. The Greek efflorescence did not take place in Sparta which is said to have had the purest blood of the northern people.[3]

It has been assumed all too easily that the changes in the trend of human thought in the sixth century were "simultaneous and independent" in the different countries. As far as India is concerned, it seems difficult to imagine that she could have remained unaffected by the military exploits of the Achaemenids in her north-western provinces. Vardhamana Mahavira (*d.* 468 B.C.), Gotama Buddha (*b.c.* 563--*d.* between 486 and 473 B.C.) and Markhali

[2] T. W. RHYS-DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, op. cit., p. 61: "These merchants were mostly Dravidians, not Aryans. Such Indian names of the goods imported as were adopted in the West (Solomon's ivory, apes, and peacocks for instance, and the word 'rice', were adaptations, not of Sanskrit or Pali, but of Tamil words."

[3] See L. de la VALLEE-POUSSIN, *Indo-europeens et Indo-iraniens. L'inde jusque vers 300 av. J-C*; 139 ff; Boccard, Paris, 1924.

J. H. HUTTON, *Caste in India*, p. 224 and p. 148 ff; O.U.P., London, 1951. This book is particularly useful for South Indian Cultural Anthropology.

Gosala (fl. 450 B.C.) were young men when Cyrus (558-530 B.C.) was founding his empire. Within the limits of the Achaemenian empire commercial and political interaction between Greeks, Jews, Indians and Persians was frequent, and the new religions of India were yet in their formative stage when the Indian contingents fought in their "cotton garments" in the armies of Xerxes at Thermopylae and when Darius (522-486 B.C.) and Xerxes (486-465 B.C.) built and embellished Persepolis.[4] These synchronistic events are recalled here not to argue a case for a two-way flow of ideas between India at one end and Persia, Assyria and Greece at the other, but merely to point out the probability of a furtherance in the development of thought as a result of culture-contacts and of the social and political changes which are likely to take place in a country consequent upon the awareness of changes in other parts of the world. Ideas travelled faster in the ancient world than we are prone to imagine because of the paucity of historical documents, and the same trade routes which brought Skylax (B.C. 517) to explore the course of the Indus could have brought back Indian merchants with information regarding the various peoples in Babylon and their interests and ideologies.[5]

The sixth century B.C. in India records a questioning of traditional beliefs and of philosophical and religious assumptions. This rationalistic tendency appears not only in the new religions which developed in the century but also within Brahman orthodoxy itself. Many of the philosophic systems which were classified and developed at a later period like the mimamsa, the yoga and the sankya; the theistic bakthi cults of Siva and Vishnu; popular animistic cults, as well as an influential trend of materialistic and atheistic opinion are found to progress in howso-

[4] Herodotus, VII, 65.

[5] LEVI SYLVAIN, *Quid de Graecis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderunt*, 1890; See L. de la VALLEE-POUSSIN, *Indo-europiens*, op. cit., p. 99; S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, passim, 2nd ed., O.U.P., London, 1940.

ever a tenuous and incipient form in the sixth century B.C.[6]

From a mechanistic and world-constraining concept of sacrifice efficacious *opus operans,* maintaining the cosmic order (ṛta), and conferring the wealth and good-living man could hope for, Vedic thought had arrived by this time at a symbolic explanation of ritual and a monistic identification of the individual with the Absolute—*Tat Tvam Asi.* That excessive formalism and ritualistic determination in religion, combined with a mercenary concept of the fees and gifts which accrued for the service rendered at the altar, led to ambivalence and even multivalence in Indian speculative thinking both within and without priestly circles is no surprise.[7] The parody of the priestly procession in the *Chandogya Upanishad* (I, 12) and the comparison of sacrificial rites to unsafe boats relied on by fools in the *Mundaka* (I, 2, 7-10) express the inadequacy of ritualism and would explain the recourse to agnostic and atheistic thinking at one end, as well as to an intense desire for Union with the divine involving a bright and illuminating faith at the other :

From the unreal lead me to the real
From darkness lead me to light
From death lead me to immortality.

(*Brahadaranyaka U,* I, 3, 28)[8]

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[6] S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Indian Philosophy,* op. cit., vol. I ; HEINRICH ZIMMER, *Philosophies of India,* pp. 605-613, Kegan Paul, London, 1951 ; A. M. ESNOUL, *Le courant affectif a l'interieure du brahminisme ancien,* in BEFEO, vol. VLXIII (1956), pp. 141-207 ; ALBERT SCHWEITZER, *Indian Thought and Its Development,* pp. 1-67, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1951.

[7] Cf. L. RENOU, *The Religions of India,* University of London, 1953, p. 18 : "The Indian mind is constantly seeking hidden correspondences between things which belong to entirely distinct conceptual systems."

[8] Cf. J. N. FARQUHAR, *Religious Thought of India,* p. 57 : "There is in the teaching of the Upanishads a basis for pessimism ; but their general tone is by no means pessimistic. Emancipation fills many a passage with joyous radiance."
S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *The Principal Upanishads,* pp. 48-145, Allen and Unwin, London, 1953.

Having accepted at some earlier periods, in all likelihood from the animistic thinking of the pre-Aryan and non-Aryan peoples, the doctrines of samsara (transmigration) and karma (causal efficiency of one's deeds in the present life affecting the next), the main preoccupation of the religious and intellectual classes of the entire region, and even of the ordinary people, was how the prospect of an unending tedious chain of existence might be ended. All the various schools which appear in the sixth century offered an answer and a doctrine of Release. The *Anguttara Nikaya* mentions as many as sixty-three different philosophical schools (ganas) of thought which existed at the time of the Buddha, and the Jaina books speak of 363 erroneous views with which the Jains had to contend.[9] The extent and popularity of speculation concerning the problems of the future and the cessation of existence did not originate from one and only source, the Vedas, as is commonly believed.[10] Charles Eliot says :—

> "Indian religion is commonly regarded as the offspring of an Aryan religion, brought into India by invaders from the north and modified by contact with Dravidian civilization. The materials at our disposal hardly permit us to take any other point of view, for the literature of the Vedic Aryans is relatively ancient and full and we have no information about the old Dravidians comparable with it. *But were our knowledge less one-sided, we might see that it would be more correct to describe Indian religion as Dravidian religion stimulated and modified by the ideas of Aryan invaders.* For the greatest deities of Hinduism, Siva, Krishna, Rama, Durga and some of its most essential doctrines such as metempsychosis and divine incarnations are either totally unknown to the Veda or obscurely adumbrated in it. *The*

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[9] CHARLES ELIOT, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 97; HERMANN JACOBI, *Gaina Sutras*, p. XV, S.B.E., vol. XXII says the spiritual career in India offered a field for the ambition of younger sons.

[10] LASSEN, RHYS-DAVIDS, CHARLES ELIOT, WINTERNITZ postulate a two-fold tradition, one Brahmin and the other non-Brahmin. See M. WINTERNITZ, HIL, vol. I, p. 311 ff. ID., *Problems of Indian Literature*, pp. 21-56; University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1925.

chief characteristics of mature Indian religion are characteristics of an area, not of a race, and they are not the characteristics of religion in Persia, Greece or other Aryan lands."[11]

Three main streams of educative traditions, which take their rise in a more remote period, progress during the sixth century B.C. One is the informal and technically less specialised process of popular education carried out by the minstrels and bards, the Sutas, Magadhas and Kausilavas, both at court and among the people. It may not have been always a conscious process on the part of the educators ; nevertheless, the result was always formative. They kept alive and increased the heroic and epic traditions of the tribe, the clan or the kingdom, and their lays and epics were instrumental in defining and perpetuating the heroic types and the moral, ethical and religious values which were prevalent in the social pattern of their

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[11] CHARLES ELIOT, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. I, p. 91. HEINRICH ZIMMER, *Philosophies of India*, op. cit., p. 60. Editor's note:

Like Buddhism, Jainism, Sankhya, and Yoga, do not accept the authority of the Vedas, and are therefore reckoned as heterodox, i.e., doctrines outside the orthodox Brahman tradition of the Vedas, Upanishads and Vedanta. It was Dr. Zimmer's contention that these heterodox systems represent the thinking of the non-Aryan peoples of India, who were overcome and despised by the Brahmans, but nevertheless could boast of extremely subtle traditions of their own.

Dr. Zimmer regarded Jainism as the oldest of the non-Aryan group, in contrast to most Occidental authorities, who consider Mahavira, a contemporary of one Buddha, to have been its *founder* instead of, as the Jainas themselves (and Dr. Zimmer) claim, only the last of a long line of Jaina teachers. Dr. Zimmer believed that there is truth in the Jaina idea that their religion goes back to a remote antiquity, the antiquity in question being that of the pre-Aryan, so-called Dravidian period, which has recently been dramatically illuminated by the discovery of a series of great Late Stone Age cities in the Indus Valley, dating from the third and perhaps even fourth millennium B.C. (cf. Earnest Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, London, 1935; also Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, pp. 93 ff).

Sankhya and Yoga represented a later, psychological sophistication of the principles preserved in Jainism, and prepared the ground for the forceful anti-Brahman statement of the Buddha. Sankhya and Yoga belong together, as the theory and practice of a single philosophy. Kapila, the reputed founder of Sankhya (cf. *infra*, pp. 281 f), may have been a contemporary of the Upanishadic thinkers, and seems to have given his name to the city in which the Buddha was born, Kapilavastu.

In general, the non-Aryan, heterodox philosophies are not exclusive in the same sense that the Brahman philosophies are; for they are not reserved to members of the three upper castes.

day. This was the "poetic tradition" of Northern India which was responsible for the *Mahabharatha* and the *Ramayana,* the two great epics which have been the media of popular education, and the source of literary developments, for centuries. The origins of the finalised epics are to be sought in the bardic and poetic traditions of earlier times, which were naturally conserved in a more popular language than the language of religious rites.[12]

The second source of educational thought and institutions was the exclusive hereditary system of the Brahminic priestly class. Its origin may be traced to the dim dawn of Vedic social life when "Brahman" did not denote exclusively a caste and when the power of offering the sacrifice was vested in the *paterfamilias,* and when the distinctions had not originated between the "domestic" sacrifices and "revealed" sacrifices. But functional differentiation in a rapidly changing and developing society had led earlier than the sixth century B.C. to the institution of specialised priestly classes and of special schools in which the language, the liturgy and the ritual could be taught by mnemonic techniques along with phonetics, grammar, lexicography and astronomy. The Vedic sacrifice, exacting as it did the faultless and meticulous recitation of every word and every syllable of the sacred verses charged with mystery and magic, provided for early and mature developments in linguistic and grammatical science. An elaborate ritual and the sacrifices lasting several days called for different types of officiants—the *hotar* (caller) who recites the invitatorium to the gods; the *udgatar* (singer) who sings during the preparation and presentation, especially of the soma libations; the *adhvaryu* (executor) who performs the manual tasks reciting the prose formula and prayers; and the *brahman* or high-priest whose office it was to protect the sacrifice from harm by apposite and timely incantations. The *brahman* or high-

12 E. W. HOPKINS, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 363-367; J. N. FARQUHAR, R.T., 44 ff, M. WINTERNITZ, HIL, vol. I, 311 ff, ID., *Some Aspects of Indian Literature*, op. cit., loc. cit.

priest needed to be a consummate master of all the Vedas (three at the time of the earliest recorded definition of the function) and the others had to learn at least one Veda each. Hence the need arose for differentiation into separate types of schools for the teaching of the subjects pertinent to every functional sub-class within the priesthood. A later stage of Brahminic scholasticism and speculation demanded the creation of separate types of grammatical, exegetical and theological schools each one characterised by its own traditions. [13]

Thus the principal institutional forms of Brahminic education were well defined by the dawn of the century (600 B.C.) and it was left for the succeeding centuries to augment, classify and codify the content and discipline, having however a hereditary priestly office and priestly functions always as the core and centre of development. The rigid exclusivism of the system was maintained by the social privileges which the priestly class obtained by a legal and political theory formulated by the priests themselves and by the social immobility imposed by caste. The conservative and exclusive character of the system remains unchanged to this day though the Brahmins are found in a great many different walks of life. [14]

The contribution which the Brahmin priesthood, one of the oldest surviving hereditary priesthoods in the world, has made to learning, is considerable. But it has had a weakness throughout its entire history, which its adversaries sought to avoid in the religious systems they expounded. A priesthood ought to serve a twofold purpose, to offer sacrifice, and to prepare the people for participa-

13 W. WINTERNITZ, HIL, vol. I, p. 160 ff: See T. BURROW, *The Sanscrit Language*, op cit., pp. 35-51; L. RENOU, *Religions of Ancient India*, op cit., pp. 10-45.

14 KATHLEEN E. GOUGH, *Brahmin kinship in a Tamil village*, in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 58 (1956), pp. 826-855, esp., pp. 836-838.

tion in the sacrifice.[15] The educational function of a Church should be motivated by these two objectives. The Brahmins provided an educational system which was well suited to producing worthy officiants for the sacrifice, and to safeguarding the economic and social stability of their families, but their system neglected the training and intellectual advancement of the people whom they claimed to represent by divine ordinance.[16]

It might have been a fear complex or religious taboos, or a justification along lines similar to the so-called "disciplina arcani" of primitive religions, which originated an esoterism in Brahminic instruction which originally was non-existent among the Vedic people. But the demands of esoterism increased along with the increase of the social power and prestige of the priesthood. From very slender evidence and from sporadic episodes it is impossible to reconstruct the priestly attitude to the education of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas in the environs of the sixth century B.C. The narratives which refer to Brahmins acting as tutors to royal princes are no indications of any general concern for the education of the "twice-born". But the very age-grouping of Brahmin, Kshtriya and Vaisya initiates with implications of earlier maturation of the higher caste or the need for earlier instruction to be imparted to pupils of the higher caste shows the demands of a scale always in favour of the Brahmin child for no ostensible reason other than privilege.[17]

> "In the eighth year after conception, one should perform the initiation (upanayana) of a Brahmana, in the eleventh after conception (that) of a Kshatriya, but in the twelfth that of a Vaisya".

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15 Cf. THOMAS ACQUINAS, *Supplementum*, q. 40 a 4 c: "Sacerdos habet duos actus: *principalem scilicet, consecrare verum Corpus Christi, et secundarium, scilicet praeparare populum dei ad susceptionem hujus sacramenti.*"

16 J. H. HUTTON, *Caste in India*, op. cit., p. 790.

17 See plausible but unconvincing justification of sastric age grouping in R. K. MOOKERJI, *Ancient Indian Education*, op. cit., p. 174 ff; F. E. KEAY, Indian Education in Ancient and later times, op. cit., pp. 29-30, is more critical.

"The (time for the) Savitri (initiation) of a Brahmana does not pass until the completion of the sixteenth year (after conception), of a Kshatriya until the completion of the twenty-second, and of a Vaisya until the completion of the twenty-fourth".

"Let students, according to the order (of their castes), wear (as upper dresses) the skins of black antelopes, spotted deer, and he-goats, and (lower garments) made of hemp, flax or wool".

"The girdle of a Brahmana shall consist of a triple cord of Munga grass, smooth and soft; (that) of a Kshatriya, of a bowstring, made of Murva fibres; (that) of a Vaisya, of hempen threads.

"The sacrificial string of a Brahmana shall be made of cotton, (shall be) twisted to the right, (and consist) of three threads, that of a Kshatriya of hempen threads, (and) that of a Vaisya of woollen threads".

"A Brahmana shall (carry), according to the sacred law, a staff of Bilva or Palasa; a Kshatriya, of Vata or Khadira; (and) a Vaisya, of Pilu or Udumbara".

"The staff of Brahmana shall be made of such length as to reach the end of his hair; that of a Kshatriya, to reach his forehead; (and) that of a Vaisya, to reach (the tip of his) nose".[18]

Of the training and education intended for Kshatriyas in the Vedic Age there is no record, and of the Vaisyas there are no examples.[19] As for the Sudras and the outcastes counted as slaves and labour in Brahmin polity, they were excluded from the power-giving wisdom which was the privilege of the dominant group. Similar subjugation and exclusion of a conquered people is found in contemporary Sparta where the discrimination against the Helots led to the Messenian war (464 B.C.). In both countries, Northern India and Sparta, the severity was the outcome

[18] MANU, *Laws*, II, 35-46 (S.B.E., vol. XX 5, pp. 36-38). See Apastamba, I, I, 5, 8-21; Gautama, 1, 5-14.

[19] Cf. MACDONNELL and KEITH, *Vedic Index*, 1, p. 207.

of class prejudice and a fear-complex. Was it the traditional Brahmin attitude which the Dharmasustras of Gautama enunciate ?

> "The ears of a Sudra who listens intentionally when the Veda is being recited are to be filled with molten lead. His tongue is to be cut off if he recites it. His body is to be split in twain if he preserve it in his memory ".[20]

The Upanisadic discipline of secrecy (*rahasyam*= மறை "secret" is another word for the Upanisads) excluded women from Vedic education. Megasthenes (C. 300 B.C.) should have been amused when he wrote that the Brahmins do not communicate their philosophy to their women because they did not think them fit for philosophy and because they feared the women might divulge the secret knowledge to others should they turn perverse.[21] The examples of Gosha, Lopamudra, Maitreyi and Gargi as philosophers or as disputants are too few to argue any general trend in favour of female education. Though Harita allows an upanayana to women ascetics (Brahmavadinis), Manu is the legislator who codifies a general persistent attitude of the post-Vedic period :

> "For women no (sacramental) rite (is performed) with sacred texts, thus the law is settled ; women (who are) destitute of strength and destitute of the knowledge of the Vedic texts, (are as impure as) falsehood (itself), that is a fixed rule ".[22]

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[20] GAUTAMA, *Institute of the Sacred Law*, 12-14 (S.B.E., vol. II, Part I, p. 236).

[21] J. W McCRINDLE, *Megasthenes*.

[22] MANU, *Laws*, II, 66 ; Yagnavalkya, I, 13 ; See position and education of women in H.C., vol. II, p. 558 ff ; S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Religion and Society*, 2nd ed., pp. 139-198, Allen and Unwin, 1948. PADMINI SENGUPTA, *Everyday Life in Ancient India*, pp. 147-162, O.U.P., Bombay, 1955, and pertinent Sanskrit and Pali texts in the books on *Ancient Indian Education* by R. K. MOOKERJI, S. K. DAS, F. E. KEAY and A. S. ALTEKAR. On education of women in antiquity in the Graeco-Roman world ; see THOMAS WOODY, *Life and education in early societies*, op. cit. and CHARLES SELTMAN, *Women in antiquity*, Pan books, London, 1956.

The Brahmin woman had no cause to envy her female contemporaries in Sparta or Athens, for they too were considered hopelessly inferior.

The third and most significant of the century's stream of educational tradition was the one which may be designated the ascetic or Sramana tradition. The repeated insistence in the Pali canonical works on the distinction between "Brahmanas" and "Samanas" as well as the distinction in Megasthenes between "brachmanai" and "samanai" point to two ancient and parallel institutions. One was a priesthood by birth, with the sacrifice as the source of spiritual power and universal efficacy ; the other was eremitic renunciation துறவு by choice with *tapas* or mortification as the means of self-conquest and soteriological release, or as the means of attaining of magical and superhuman power. It seems probable that the ascetic tradition originated and developed outside the Brahminic circles, and that later, Brahminism, with its characteristic resilience and capacity for compromise and accommodation included it as one of the asramas.[23]

The Brahmana and the Sramana schools developed in two separate geographical areas, the former in the region north of modern Delhi known as "Kurupancala" and the latter in the north-eastern districts, particularly in the kingdom of Videha, Magadha and Kosala. In the Kurupancala area the Brahmin class was supreme and hence that district remained the "holy land" of the Brahmins and the home of orthodoxy, the transgression of the geographical boundaries of which might require, on the part of the Brahmins, a purification ceremony. In the north-

[23] H.C., vol. I, p. 493 f: "The oldest Upanishads speak of these asramas only as three types or branches of life, but not as successive stages. It is only in the late Upanishads, the Great Epic, and the Dharmasastras, that the theory of successive stages of life is formulated and is developed further by an addition of a fourth stage, that of the Sannyasin who gives up even sacrifice, in fact all good works and as an ascetic, renounces the world to meditate on the Absolute (Brahman) with a view to realize it or achieve union with it."

[23] T. W. RHYS-DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, op. cit, pp. 138-9; D B., vol. I, pp. 212-219.

eastern regions the Kshatriya classes dominated and the Brahmins were subordinate to them, since there appears to have held sway a greater influence of non-Aryan traditions and non-Aryan beliefs. This influence might well explain the popularity of asceticism and the origin of the heterodox sects in the eastern sector.[24] The ethnic composition in these eastern kingdoms involved as it was with differences of worship seems to have laid the foundation for the regional differences in ideologies. Beriedale-Keith says :—

> "Much more still beyond the pale were the people of Magadha, which serves with Anga in the Atharvaveda as a symbol of a distant land. The man of Magadha is dedicated, in the account of the symbolic human sacrifice given in the Yajurveda, to 'loud noise', suggesting that the Magadha country must have been the seat of minstrelsy, an idea supported by the fact that in later literature a man of Magadha is the designation of a minstrel. If, as has been suggested, the Kikatas of the Rigveda were really located in Magadha, the dislike of the country goes back to the Rigveda itself. The cause must probably have been the imperfect Brahmanisation of the land and the predominance of aboriginal blood, which later in history rendered Magadha the headquarters of Buddhism. It is significant that the Buddhist texts show a subordination of the Brahman to the Kshatriya class which has no parallel in orthodox literature. It is clear however that Brahmans sometimes lived there, but that their doing so was a ground for surprise."[25]

T. W. Rhys-Davids commenting on the racial and colour composition of the Kshatriyas of these kingdoms in the pre-Buddhist period says :—

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[24] EDWARD J. THOMAS, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, p. 13 ff—Note on the Geography of Early Buddhism ; Kegan Paul, London, 1931; B. C. LAW, *The Geography of Early Buddhism*, London, 1932; NALINAKSHA DUTT, *History of Early Buddhist Monasticism*, vol. I, pp. 135 ff, Calcutta, 1941.

[25] C.H., I, p. 123 ; Cf. MANU, *Laws*, II, 17-20: "From a Brahmana born in that country (Brahmavarthy) let all men on earth learn their several usages."

"The three upper classes had originally been one; for the nobles and priests were merely those members of the third class, the Vessas, who had raised themselves into a higher social rank. And though more difficult probably than it had been, it was still possible for analogous changes to take place. Poor men could become nobles, and both could become brahmins. We have numerous instances in the books, some of them unconsciously preserved even in the later priestly books which are otherwise under the spell of the caste theory. And though each case is then referred to as if it were exceptional, the fact no less remains that the line between the "Colours" was not yet strictly drawn. The members of the higher Colours were not even all of them white. Some, no doubt, of the Kshatriyas were descended from the chiefs and nobles of the Dravidian and Kolarian tribes who had preserved, by conquest or by treaty, their independence or their social rank. And others of the same tribes were, from time to time, acquiring political importance, and with it an entry into a higher social grade."[26]

And Heinrich Zimmer says:—

"Jainism denies the authority of the Vedas and the orthodox traditions of Hinduism. Therefore it is reckoned as a heterodox Indian religion. It does not derive from Brahman-Aryan sources, but reflects the cosmology and anthropology of a much older, pre-Aryan upper class of north-eastern India—being rooted in the same subsoil of archaic metaphysical speculation as Yoga, Sankhya, and Buddhism, the other non-Vedic Indian systems. The Aryan invasion, which overwhelmed the north-western and north central provinces of the sub-continent in the second millennium B.C., did not extend the full weight of its impact beyond the middle of the Ganges

[26] T. W. RHYS-DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, op. cit., pp. 34-35; VINCENT A. SMITH, *Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1919, pp. 47-48 repeats the theory that Gautama Buddha was of non-Aryan origin. B. C. LAW, *Some Kshatriyas Tribes of Ancient India*, Thacker, Calcutta, 1924, p. 24 f, states the view that he was an Aryan Kshatriya: ID, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 297, Poona, 1943. R. C. MAJUMDAR, H.C., vol. II, p. 363 says: "The Sakya clan had probably a Mongolian strain in their blood."

valley; the pre-Aryan nobility of the north-eastern states, therefore, were not all swept off their thrones. Many of the families survived, and when the dynasties of the invading race began to show symptoms of exhaustion, the scions of these earlier native lines were able to assert themselves again.

"Candragupta Maurya, for example, stemmed from a family of this kind. So did the Buddha."[27]

Varying other traditions confirm the existence of a two-fold source of asceticism and scholasticism, one Brahmin and another non-Brahmin. For example, Markhali Gosala is said to be the third of a line of pontiffs. Parcava, the forerunner of Mahavira, is believed to have lived two hundred years earlier than Mahavira himself, and Ravana, the symbol of Dravidian resistance, is credited in Sanskrit literature as possessing super-human powers obtained by ascetic practices. Hence it may not be entirely groundless to suggest that the tradition of 24 tirthankaras preceding Mahavira and 23 buddhas preceding Gautama may point to an ancient unbroken tradition of non-Brahmin scholasticism and asceticism.[28]

(*To be continued*)

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27 HEINRICH ZIMMER, *Philosophies of India*, op. cit.
28 *Ibid.*

Religious landmarks in Pudukkottai,*

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY

LEOP BAZOU, *S.J.*

To most people the Pudukkottai region, south of the Cauvery, is but a small barren, an uninteresting and out-of-the-way territory, with no attraction for the casual visitor. But to him who loves the past and has an understanding eye for cultural relics, Pudukkottai soon discloses her rich inheritance. There are, for instance, numerous and extensive megalithic burial sites, although most of them are in secluded spots away in the jungle or the wilderness. There are also many natural caves which were once inhabited by the people who erected the dolmens and later by the Jain monks who were attracted to this region by their very inaccessibility which was ideal for prayer and meditation. But to find out such dwellings requires both patience and exertion.

There are carved Jain caves scooped out of the many rockhills which mark the landscape. One of them enshrines the only ancient fresco painting known in Tamil Nad. At Enadi, a now almost depopulated hamlet between Tiru Kalambur and Ponnamaravati, there is an eleventh century masterpiece, a small shrine all in stone that is an artistic beauty. Who visits now-a-days Kudimiyamalai where former Rajahs were anointed? How many are

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* This study is the result of several tours made by the contributor in Pudukkottai in June, July and August 1953. He wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the learned *Manual of the Pudukkottai State* by K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar (3 vols., 1938, 1940 & 1944) and to W. C. M. Claasen of Dindigul, without whose kind help, deep understanding and pleasant companionship the study would not have been possible.

aware that at the zenith of the Pallava period Kudumiyamalai had attained such a cultural importance as to be considered the right place to place on permanent record a complete treatise on the 'Fundamental Principles of Music' for both the seven — and eight-stringed veena? The inscription, thirteen centuries old, still looks fresh in its archaic characters engraved upon the rock, just below the almost inaccessible cave where Jain monks prayed and sang.

The Primitive Tribes

The many unassuming shrines to the Village *Amman* and her faithful companion, the *Aiyanar,* which are found in every village and hamlet, are worth a study by themselves. Decaying or renovated temples may be of interest to the student of the past, but why it may be asked bring into the picture these small and shockingly unartistic pagodas erected to the 'Mother', and the unseemly mounds of broken or crumbling earthenware which seem to be part and parcel of every shrine to the Aiyanar? Why indeed, except for the simple reason that they *are* very much in the picture. While many beautiful structures of Brahmanic Hinduism were allowed to fall into disuse and ruins, rustic shrines to the Village Mother and the Aiyanar are still being erected, for these deities are even now worshipped by the bulk of the village population; here lies their interest for the student of religion. They belong to an archaic but living faith, that has withstood the impact of successive faiths, many of them inspired by the Aryanized North Buddhism, Jainism, Adi-Saivism and, last of all, Brahmanical Hinduism. However deep may be the imprint such religious forms left upon the country, however rich in works of art their religious edifices, they could not, as we shall see, obliterate the primeval tribal faith that survives them all.

In a comparatively small area, which is about half of the size of the neighbouring Madurai district, Pudukkottai provides the richest ground in south Tamil Nad, for the

study of primitive Dravidian culture and religion ; it possesses more historical remnants than any other comparable area south of the Cauvery.

Even a bird's eye view will show how the cults of the Village Mother and of the Aiyanar, both inextricably connected, are unmistakable survivals of the ancestral fertility rites, typical of archaic agriculturist communities, of which the abundant dolmens and neolithic burial sites stand as so many pre-historic memorials. The present-day villagers still honour their ancestors, real or mythical, as Village *Ammans* and *Pattavars*, even as the megalithic and neolithic man did. It is not, therefore, fortuituous that the Amman and Aiyanar shrines are closely connected with these ancient burial sites, and that even the later religious forms, which could not supplant them in spite of centuries of State patronage, established themselves near these very spots of primeval worship. Religious forms may come and go but the 'sacred spot' survives.[1]

Exploring this area patiently, the student of religion will soon realize that he is treading upon hallowed ground, the very places in which the ancestors of the most primitive groups in the country, the Valaiyars, the Kurumbars, the Vaduvars, now part of the so-called 'exterior castes' of Hindu society and, may be, the Kallars and Maravars, buried and worshipped their dead. Since pre-historic days this primitive cult has ever flourished amongst them so much so that when, in those fateful years of the eighteenth century which followed the disappearance of the Madura Naick power, Brahmanic Hinduism showed signs of decline, the cult of the ancestors personified in the Village Mother, the Aiyanar, and the Pattavars, staged a striking revival amongst these groups.

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[1] Students interested in Archaic Religions will find useful information in MIRCEA ELIADE, *Traite d'Histoire des Religions*, Paris, 1949, and G. VAN DER LEEUW, *La Religion dans son Essence et ses Manifestations*, Paris, 1948. They are indispensable if one wants to understand archaic religious concepts, forms and symbols.

Megalithic and Neolithic Culture

The late P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, remarked that 'the miles and miles of... burial sites, generally near water-courses', make of the Pudukkottai country 'the best district for the study of the burial customs of the Neolithic Man'.[2] No less than eighty different burial places have been discovered, and some localities contain several sites. Considering that not a few sites may have disappeared in the course of some two thousand to two thousand and five hundred years and that some of the surviving burial sites cover several acres of land in tank areas, water-spreads and porambokes or grazing-grounds, we can have an idea how deeply engrained in the mind of the pre-historic man was his respect towards the dead. It may not be without significance that the ancient Kurumbar people are still inhabiting villages connected with pre-historic burial sites; these are often situated at the foot of the very hills in which natural caves show traces of ancient inhabitation, such as Sittannavasal, Narthamalai, Tenimalai, Sevalimalai, Kudumiyamalai, Sembudi, Ammanchattram, Malaiyadipatti, etc.

The burial sites of Pudukkottai offer the usual variety, burials in tombs or graves, chamber-burials and urn-burials, each mound covering a grave surrounded by a circle of stones or barrows. Dolmens found within these stone circles are stone-cells, the *kallarai*, 'stone-chamber' which word has survived in the Tamil language as the name for a tomb. A complete skeleton found in a tomb of the Pulvayal forest showed the body in a seated position, holding a sword in the right hand, while the left hand rested on the thigh. This characteristic posture survives in the sitting position even now given to the dead in their graves. The half seated images of the Karuppan form of the Aiyanar (one finds them everywhere in stone or baked clay) show him holding a curved sword in his right hand while the left rests upon the outer curved part of the

[2] P. T. SRINIVASA AIYENGAR, *The Stone Age in India*, Madras, 1926, pp. 41-61.

valadi or *valaittadi*, a South Indian boomerang still used by the Valaiyars, the Kallars and the Maravars in hunting small game. Valadis and other weapons, including iron spears and swords, are also found in tombs with their points downwards.

The iron-spear or spike, the *Vel*, emblem of Murugan and the Aiyanar, was a symbol of authority as well as the weapon of the ancient chieftains in Tamilagam, from which they took the title of *Vel* or *Velir*, Village Elder, Chief of armed troups, and Priest. Owing to the very fact that it was a weapon made of iron, the Vel was bound to become not only the symbol of authority, religious as well as secular, but also of fertility and perenniality. It is not mere chance, therefore, that the stone circles that surround burial mounds are laterite boulders, often brought from some other part of the country. The tradition has survived ; smaller shrines to the Mother, the Aiyanar, the 'Seven Virgins' and the Nagas found in Brahmanical temples are built in laterite stones, even where such shrines stand within enclosures of granite material.[3] Why this manifest preference for laterite ?

Laterite contains iron, the very metal the people who built the dolmen had discovered and soon learnt to put to good use both as a tool and as a weapon. Iron proved harder and more durable than bronze, and was therefore considered suitable for use as a religious symbol. Sacredness, durability or perenniality are the concepts which inspired Megalithic Man in the honours he paid to the dead, indicating that he believed in a kind of survival beyond the grave. The cult of the dead, the worship of ancestors, the fertility rites which this worship entailed, are various manifestations of the same concept connected with the primordial belief among agriculturists that Mother-Earth is the repository of all life. Stones, rocks, iron, all hard

[3] In South Malabar pre-historic man often buried his dead in tombs cut out of laterite rock. (Cf. *Archaeological Department, Cochin State, Report*, 1947-48, p. 15).

natural elements which bespeak durability—water, alive with fish, that periodically brings back life to the fallow fields and provides a new harvest—tanks and rivers upon whose embankment the burial sites are usually to be found—Mother-Earth to whose womb all her children return to sleep, the sleep of nightly repose and of death—all these partook of the sacred as so many manifestations of fertility, of life and survival. Just as life perpetuates itself in nature through the cycle of recurring seasons, so it renovates itself, generation after generation, in the family and in the clan.

The concept of time among primitive people was somewhat different from ours. Their cycles, much shorter than our modern eras, were based upon quite different phenomena : the annual seasonal return of the rains after long dry months, the span of human life from one generation to the next, and that of some of the known and domesticated animals, such as the bull and the elephant, which renewed themselves periodically at shorter or longer intervals. There were also material objects that seemed to be endowed with this element of durability, if not perenniality, the ever-growing trees in the forest, Mother-Earth, rocks and stones and then iron. They all lasted beyond the longest known cycle, beyond the seasonal alternation of Spring, harvest and barren land, and much beyond the span of man's life.

There were things that appeared to endure almost for ever while others, after undergoing a process of apparent decay and death, came back to life. These experiences led man to conclude that death was not the end of everything but was just a suspense to be followed by a new lease of life. Fields in the dry plains might periodically lie barren, but there were also in the neighbouring hills perennial forests with giant-trees that seemed to endure for ever ; no one had known them when they were saplings. Life went on in spite of all appearances, hence the logical assumption that the dead too had not gone for ever. At

most they had retired to rest for a while, as man does every night; hence the Tamil name of பள்ளி Pal:l:i, 'chamber, sleeping couch, temple as well as for funeral rites'.

This means much more, indeed, than would appear at first sight, for the memory of primitive peoples is the collective memory that survives in the family and the clan. The respect and honour paid to the dead and their tombs kept both living and dead in close relationship, the departed members of the clan remaining part and parcel of it. Before the departed ancestors could be forgotten, they became supra-terrestrial beings—protective guardians of their surviving kith and kin. It was believed that they were reborn in due course in the new clan's offsprings.

This belief perhaps accounts for the Tamilian custom of giving to a child the name of its grandparent பேரன் pe:ran, the Tamil equivalent of grandson, means one who bears the same name. It is this ancestral custom of honouring the dead that must have gradually led the primitive Dravidian clans to give the rank of *ishta devata*, favoured deity, to their ancestors and protective spirits, as personified in the Village Mother, the Aiyanar, the Seven Virgins or Mothers, and the Pattavars or ancestors of either sex. The custom is still prevalent in villages.

Among the ploughed fields one may find the *Samādhi* or tomb of a local headman. Outwardly it looks as insignificant as the hut used by the watchman who guards the crop. Inside its narrow single chamber, no name, no memorial, no inscription is to be found to perpetuate the village worthy's memory, apart from a simple *Lingam* upon its *Yōni* pedestal over the grave. Here the whole traditional Dravidian cult of the dead is aptly summarized in its simplest and most telling expression, the symbol of creative energy over a grave; it emphasizes the fact that life perpetuates itself. Death is not the last word; life goes on and on.

This belief in the survival of the dead explains why all the familiar implements that belonged to the departed were placed in his grave, along with eatables, and seeds, such as grains of rice, the staple food that nourishes and the seeds that sprout into new life, the very symbol of a future harvest. Much has been written about the deep-rooted dread, among Hindus of all classes, as regards death and whatever connected with it, cemeteries being held as the supreme place of ill-omen. And yet, Sivā and Kāli in Hinduism and Sudalai Madan in village worship are all three supposed to haunt cemeteries. No one who has witnessed a family gathering around a tomb on the occasion of the annual ceremony for the dead can have any doubt however as to which is the dominant sentiment—dread or confidence. It looks more like an intimate family feast, in which special dainties are distributed and shared among the living in honour of the departed. And yet the orthodox will go on telling us that whatever is connected with the dead spells pollution ; but we are dealing here not with orthodox Hinduism but with ancestral Dravidian rites and in this lies the difference.

THE JAINS

Next in importance are the lithic records in the Asoka-Brahmi script of the ancient Tamil language,[4] found in the natural caves of The Sittannavasal Hills. If these may be taken as genuine, we can trace back the settlement of Jain monks in the Pudukkottai region to the 3rd or at least the 2nd century B.C. Similar inscriptions found in caves of the Madurai and Tinnevelly districts would support their genuineness. More recent inscriptions (7th-9th centuries A.D.) in archaic Tamil, at Sittannavasal, testify to a long occupation of this cave by Jain monks. Natural caves in which the Jains have left such traces of their occupation are not rare in Pudukkottai. We find them at Sembudi in

[4] Dr. K. K. Pillai has pointed out that these inscriptions are in a hybrid language containing Tamil as well as Prakrit words, *vide* Tamil Culture. vol. V, No. 2, April 1956, p. 178—(Ed.)

the Tirumayam taluk, at Kadugumalai or the Hill of the caves in Narthamalai, at Tenimalai north of Ponnamaravati, at Sevalimalai in the same range and at Kudumiyamalai.

To these natural caves the Jains added, in course of time, rock-cut cells or shrines. Some of these caves, which are better-known under the collective name of 'Pallava Caves' and have been attributed to Hindu craftsmen, were actually the work of the Jains themselves. Such is, for instance, that of Melamalai above the village of Narthamalai. In the 13th century when Jainism was showing signs of decline, it was taken over by Hinduism and the present twelve Vaishnava figures were then added. The new masters had very little alterations to make, for Vaishnaism took most of its symbols straightaway from the Jain or the Buddhist concept and forms. One wonders, indeed, how many Pallava Caves now credited to Brahmanical Hinduism had been thus inherited from the Jains. When Hindu temples were enlarged, pillars and other ready-made materials would be taken from former Jain edifices. Thus the Amman and Siva shrines at Tennangudi were built with stones removed from shrines and monasteries which had been built and endowed by the powerful merchants' guild of the 'Five Hundred'; many more temple builders followed their example. Although Jainism had lost its former vitality by the end of the Chola period, its institutions survived some time longer. The Pandyas of Madurai (1100 to 1350 A.D.) continued to endow benefactions in their favour; when grants were made to Brahmanical temples or foundations, it was carefully stipulated that previous grants made in favour of the Jains were to be respected. This gives a hint that peace between the two faiths was being threatened, but it also goes to show too that Jainism in Pudukkottai survived by several centuries the general onslaught launched by the Saiva Hymnist Gnāna Sambhandar (middle 7th century A.D.).

The prolonged hospitality given by Pudukkottai to the Jains—roughly some fourteen centuries—is evidenced

everywhere by Jain remnants, in the form of rock-cut beds, prayer-seats, or drip-lines in natural caves, shrines carved out of rock, statuaries and fresco-paintings, which are clearly not secular. The carvings or sculptures of holy men, seated or standing, fully naked ('airclad' as the expression goes), show them in an attitude of prayer, deep concentration, or at least of peaceful repose.

Such Jain works are not rare in the rest of Tamil Nād but Pudukkottai has preserved for us, at Sittannavasal, an important relic of a lost art, the fresco paintings which are unique in the Tamil districts. Their artistic value and their deeply religious implications of genuine Dravidian culture are such as to arrest the attention of any student of the religious history of the country. The only remnants of fresco paintings, which must have once covered most of the walls of this shrine but are now irreparably damaged, are the carpet-like paintings on the ceiling and the four figures on the pillars of the verandah.

At first sight, the carpet-like fresco represents a common though most artistic aquatic scene, a pool of lotus-flowers but it is in fact a highly inspired study in the purest Indian tradition. The lotus flower was and has remained the accepted symbol of fertility and of Saktic Energy. Even in modern Tantrism of the Bengal School, the Lotus represents the 'Mother'. The fact that the pool contains but living beings connected with the same symbolic element goes to emphasize still more the emblematic value of the lotus: water, a traditional element of fertility, teeming with life, fishes that display themselves here and there among the lotuses, aquatic birds that feed in the water, the three young men, the elephants, the bull and the lion. All these belong to the same concept. The birds are mostly seen in pairs, male and female cackling together, as merry as in the Spring and the mating-season. The three youths have a serene countenance and their candid open faces, without yet the dawn of puberty, express in their quiet joy the peace and contentment of the morning of life, when

everything is fresh and pure—and temptations are yet to come—in a world which is characteristically otherworldly and conducive to contemplation. The presence of the elephants and bulls, examples of strength and energy—the strongest and largest types of vital energy familiar to men—and that of a lion, the king of animals (which is moreover a typical Jain symbol) give the scene its full significance. This Franciscan-like candidness and peace of the Jain was not built upon sentimentalism but upon self-detachment which calls for great tenacity of purpose.

The master artist knew how to avail himself of the soft tints his rich palette provided ; he also had a keen eye for contours and graceful poise. Finely displayed, the colours of the fresco are fresh and vivid, though the whole piece is now fast deteriorating. Even though they are, as was to be expected of a Jain artist, characteristically discreet in their varied soft hues, they combine to enhance the quiet joy of this Spring-scene,—the peaceful and refreshing waters, the abundant flowers, the graceful ease of the moving animals, and the serenity of the three youths who evince no self-consciousness of their complete nudity.

Paintings which adorned the inner sanctuary have almost completely faded away. There are two dancing girls and a royal couple on both the pillars of the outer verandah. The prince shows the typical features of Mahendravarman I, the magnificent royal patron of the Arts in this classical Pallava age. He and his consort stand here in the attitude of repose, not unlike the 'donor' and his wife in a religious painting of the later Medieval Flemish school. The 'exquisite Apsaras, celestial dancers'[5], also radiate peace and repose with their arms curved in graceful movements and with their commanding poise, full though it be of rhythm and motion. With its 'charms and half-tones and the light and shades', the Sittannavasal versatility of designs.....the gradation in colouring, the

[5] KARL KHANDALAVAL, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 55.

fresco appears to Jouvéau-Dubreuil, the French scholar who discovered them in 1920, as 'a scene from the religious history of the Jains'.[6] 'A scene from the Jain heaven', remarks Karl Khandalavala.[7]

The Sittannavasal fresco recalls to mind those of the famous Ajanta. 'The line has all the rhythm, fluency and definitiveness of that of Ajanta', and they 'undoubtedly belong to that age when the art of fresco painting in India was at its zenith',[8] to quote again Khandalavala. But the Sittannavasal artist has happily followed his own creative imagination; thus he has avoided the exaggerated forms of his better known contemporaries, such as the wasplike feminine waistline and the typically sensuous rather than religious attitudes of Ajanta as well as of Sigiriya (Ceylon).

It has been said that the Jains had 'an eye for the picturesque'.[9] The natural caves they first occupied and those they later carved out of the rock are usually to be found in the upper slopes of rockhills, as eagle-nests would be. They command a large landscape; from there the eye rests on nothing that is not peace-inspiring in the vast panorama of nature with its rocks and forests, its combs and dales, its water tanks and fields. As seen from such an altitude and distance, everything looks, in the subdued light and colours, like a dreamland, as it might well appear through the half-closed eyes of a contemplative Jain recluse who lived there and prayed.

(To be continued)

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6 NANALAL CHAMANLAL MEHTA, *Studies in Indian Paintings*, Bombay, 1926, p. 11.

7 KHANDALAVAL, p. 55.

8 KHANDALAVAL, p. 55.

9 *Madura Gazetteer*, p. 256.

The Problem of the Life and Age of Kamban

A. C. PAUL NADAR

Kamban is the greatest poet in Tamil language. His supreme mastery of language and metre, his simplicity of style and profundity of thought, his wonderful portrait of men and women, his powers of dramatisation and his sense of humour, his knowledge of the deep past, and prophetic vision of the future and his grasp of the fundamental problems of life make his *Ramayana* unique in Tamil literature. It is a creative work of art, comparable to the very best epic poem produced in any age or under any clime. Its study from the point of view of the age is calculated to elucidate several problems connected with the historical development of the culture of the Tamils. For it is obvious that it reflects the hopes and fears, the aspirations and ideals of a particular epoch in the history of the Tamils. But the problem of his age and life remains unsettled among historians, literary scholars and research workers. There is such a vast difference in the periods assigned by the various schools of thought among them that the question of the development of age, language and literature, art and science, religion and philosophy, politics and economics, caste and society and a host of questions of similar nature await determination. Some think that Kamban belonged to the 9th century of the Christian era; others take him to the last quarter of the 12th century. There are a few others who assign to him various dates between the two. The difference thus ranges over a period of three centuries.

The theory of the 9th century was championed by the late V. V. S. Iyer (vide his introduction to Balakandam

1917). This view was shared by such various schools as 1. Sunnakam Kumarasamy Pillai (vide his Balakandam 1918). 2. Illakkana Paramparai Somasundaradesikar (Karanthai Silver Jubilee Essays, 1938). 3. T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar (vide *Kamban Tharum Ramayanam* 1953). 4. V. P. Subramania Mudaliar (*Kamba Ramayana Saram*).

The late Dr. S. Krishnasami Iyengar placed him in the middle of the 12th century. The editors of the Annamalai University Silver Jubilee Publication of six padalams of *Sundara Kandam* (1955) suggest 978 A.D., as the date of composition of *Kamba Ramayana* and emphatically reject the 9th as well as the 12th century. The theory of the 12th century was first suggested by the late Maha Vidwan R. Raghava Iyengar about 50 years ago (vide *Sentamil*—Vol. 3). In recent years it was championed by Professor S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, whose two books—*Tamil Chudar Manigal*—1952, 2nd edition, and *Kamban Kavyam*, 1955 fairly summarise the arguments advanced by the late R. Raghava Iyengar in addition to his own.

The task of fixing the correct date is not an easy one. It is full of difficulties. No direct or contemporary evidence is available. There is a paucity of historical works. We do not know with certainty the time and place of origin of many books of literature. There is a mass of traditional accounts, which have gathered around Kamban and his patron Sadayan down the centuries. They contradict one another ; though some of the stanzas connected with traditional accounts profess to be Kamban's own or those of his contemporaries, they are of doubtful historical value. The circumstantial evidence is neither full nor adequate to warrant any definite and certain conclusion. Our forefathers had neither an historic sense nor an excessive anxiety to preserve things as they were in their pristine form. As a result of these defects, we have not the original text of Kamban's poem with us, but only copies made less than 400 years ago. Even these copies are admittedly full

of interpolations, additions and omissions. The earliest copy available is alleged to have been prepared in about 1578 A.D., that is to say, about 400 years after the latest and 700 years after the earliest date assigned to the poet. And no one knows from which source that copy was made. We have now about 30 to 40 manuscripts written on palmyra leaves. The readings vary from one manuscript to another, though the general frame work is substantially kept intact. So we have to take the 16th century text with all its faults and infirmities as a basis for our investigation. As interpolations and additions have been made from time to time to suit the ideas and tastes of later ages, the question of fixing the age becomes extremely complicated. Indeed the whole thing works in a vicious circle. We want a correct text to fix the age, and the text can be corrected and restored to its pristine purity only in the light of the knowledge of the times which necessitated the interpolations, additions and omissions.

In recent years, several attempts have been made to get at the original text. T. K. C.'s monumental work makes an attempt to restore the original from the point of view of poetics and aesthetics alone. This leaves a large gap in the narration of the story of the poem. S. Murugappa in his short-study of *Kambar Kaviyam* (1953) deals with the question of interpolation and additions from a common sense point of view. It is interesting to note how much he agrees in the matter of interpolations and additions with T. K. C. For example, many stanzas in Pookoi Padalam, Punal Vilayattupadalam, Undatta Padalam in Bala Kandam are found to be interpolations by both. They are certainly incongruous in the light of what appears to be the Poet's great basic principles, such as his condemnation of laxity in sexual relationship and abhorrence of intoxicating drinks. A mere comparison of the manuscripts does not yield fruitful data, necessary for fixing the age of Kamban, as all the available manuscripts are less than 400 years old. It is however, interesting to note that Prof. S. Vaiyapuri

Pillai rejects as an interpolation the story of Viswamitra (83-138 in Mithilai Katchi) on the strength of omission in one manuscript which he considers very old (vide: *Kamban Kaviyam*, pp. 43 & 44). T. K. C. rejects the same on poetical grounds (vide: T. K. C.'s *Ramayanam*, Introductory P. XIV). The purification of the text is a task beyond the capacity and competency of any single individual. It calls for the exercise of different qualities and talents not commonly found in any single individual. Discriminating poetic perception, a sound and intimate knowledge of the literature of the relevant period in all its aspects and patient industry must be brought to bear upon the study of the knotty problem before anything like a satisfactory solution can be found.

We have, therefore, to grope in the dark in our investigation with a debased text, and with the mass of contradictory traditional accounts. Far more than these is our imperfect knowledge of the historic background. In spite of the vast historical materials now available after a patient research for nearly a century, no historian of genius has arisen to use these materials with the insight of a seer, the vision of an artist and the accuracy of a scientist. Till now specialisation has gone so far that research scholars, who know epigraphy well, are deficient in their knowledge of literature and *vice versa*. We have before us the curious phenomenon of a learned historian of the Cholas who was so sure some years ago that Kamban was patronised by Vikrama Chola (1118-1135) and was even lavishly rewarded by him with the title Kavichakravarthy (Emperor of Poets) and a fief called Kumba nadu, holding now the view that he belonged to the age of Kulottungan III (1178-1216). One is left wondering whether he has any adequate reason for the change over and whether the period of more than half a century in the history of Cholas does not make any difference whatsoever in what he calls "the colour of the time." (vide page 672 in *The Cholas* by K. A. N. Sastry 2nd edition, 1953). The learned professor admittedly

follows the conclusion of the late Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai.

The late Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai has expounded his theory of the 12th century in his two books (*Tamil Chudar Manigal* 2nd edition, 1952 and *Kamban Kavyam*, 1955). He asserts that the world of scholars accepted the last quarter of the 12th century as settled—vide page 145, *Kamban Kavyam*. The reasons assigned by him for his conclusion are :—

(*a*) Tyaga Vinodam is referred to in the stanza No. 58 of Maruthumalai padalam and is the exclusive title of Kulothunga Chola III. Hence Kamban must have lived in his reign. (*Kamban Kavyam*—page 149).

(*b*) The stray stanza (Thanian) beginning with "ஆவின் கொடை சகரர்" supports the view that Kamban finished his poem in Saka year 1100 corresponding to 1178 A.D. (*Kamban Kavyam* —page 150).

(c) The stray stanza (Thanian) beginning with "எண்ணிய சகாப்தம் எண்ணூற்று ஏழில்" shows that arangetram (publication) of *Kamban Ramayanam* was in Saka year 1107 corresponding to 1185 A.D. (*Tamil Chudar Manigal*—page 131).

(*d*) Another stray stanza attributed to Kamban according to *Tamil navalar Sarithai* is said to be addressed to the king Pratapa Rudra of Warangal 1162-1197 (*Tamil Chudar Manigal*—page 121).

(*e*) According to the stray stanza attributed to Kamban in *Cholamandala Sathakam*, Sadayan the acknowledged patron of Kamban was the same as Puduvai Sadayan. This Puduvai Sadayan was the son of Sankaran, the early patron

of Ottakoothan. So Kamban was the junior contemporary of Ottakoothan who sang ulas about the three Cholas who ruled for fifty-four years (1178 to 1171) (vide pages 124-125 *Tamil Chudar Manigal*).

(*f*) According to tradition Ottakoothan, the Kavichakravarthi of the Chola Court, jealously guarded his position and influence and kept down young aspirants including Kamban (vide page 151 *Kamban Kavyam*).

(*g*) Kamban did not find favour with the Chola King (Kulothunga III) for he was a Vaishnavite and Saivaism was the state religion. And those were not the days of toleration (page 151, *Kamban Kavyam*).

(*h*) Kamban was neglected by the literary circles, as he did not follow the poetic tradition of his days. The poets of his age looked down upon this as heresy and taunted him with his low birth (page 151, *Kamban Kavyam*).

(*i*) In spite of the opposition of the royal court and literary circles, his genius was recognised by the common people who immediately awarded the title of Kavichakravarthi. His fame was an established fact as soon as his great Kavyam was published (page 152, *Kamban Kavyam*).

(*j*) Kamban lived at the time when Tamilnad attained the zenith of its prosperity (pages 131 & 132 *Chudarmanigal*).

We will now examine his reasons in the order set forth above :

(*a*) The sheet anchor of his thesis is the reference to Thyaga Vinodhan in Maruthumalai Padalam in stanza No. 58. He says that a certain town named "thiraimoor"

during Vikrama Chola's reign was some decades later renamed *Tygavinodha Arrur* and that this change took place during the reign of Kulothunga III. Therefore he thinks that this shows clearly that Thyaga Vinodhan was none other than the Kulothunga III himself and that following the king some of his officers added this title to their names. He quotes for instance "Thyga Vinodha Muvendavelan" (MER No. 28 of 1927) and "Thyga Vinodha Bhattan" (MER No. 169 of 1927) vide *Kamban Kavyam*, page 149.

(1) The identification of Thyaga Vinodhan with Kulothunga III is based on an inference from the changes of names as Thyaga Vinodhan Arrur, referred to in two mutilated inscriptions reported in *Senthamil*, Vol. I half a century ago, but not yet copied by the Government Epigraphists. As a matter of fact historians took no notice of that until Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai explained it in recent years. There is however no evidence that Kulothunga III even used this title of Thyga Vinodhan in any one of his innumerable inscriptions. He used as many as nine titles and this is not one of them (vide Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas*, Part II, page 168, and Krishna Sastri's comment in G.O. No. 665 dated 28—7—1910).

The stanza No. 58 of *Maruthumalai Padalam* runs as follows :—

வன்னி நாட்டிய பொன் மௌலிவானவன் மலரின் மேலான்
கன்னிநாள் திருவைச்சேர்ந்த கண்ணனும் ஆளுங் காணி
சென்னிநாள் தெரியல் வீரன் தியாக விநோதன் தெய்வப்
பொன்னிநாட்டு வமைவைப்பைப்புலன்கொள நோக்கிப் போனான்.

(2) We have ample evidence that the name Thyaga Vinodhan was in use long before and after the time of Kulothunga III. Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai's citation of the reference to Thyaga Vinodhan in MER No. 169 of 1927, relates to an inscription recording the gift of a lamp to the temple of Athitheswaran at Perunkalandai of Pollachi taluk in Coimbatore district in the third year of the Kongu Chola

ruler Vikrama (1004-1041 A.D.). As a matter of fact it is the year 1007, that is to say, about 200 years before Kulothunga III. There are two officers of Vikrama Chola bearing the name of Thyaga Vinodhan Thalaikoli (பதியிலார் தியாக விநோதத்தலைக்கோலி) and Thirumandiravolai Thyaga Vinodha Bramma Rayan (திருமந்திர வோலை தியாக விநோத பிரம்மராயன்) [For other references to Thyaga Vinodhan vide MER No. 260 of 1920 for the time of Kongu Chola ruler Kulothunga III (1145-1183) and S.I.I. Vol. VIII No. 487 in 15th century during Vijayanagar times.]

(3) The reference to the Thyaga Vinodha Muvendavelan in MER 28 of 1927 related to a chieftain who belonged to the region of Thiruvarur where Siva was and is worshipped as Thyagaraja Perumal. It is legitimate to infer that the name is one in imitation of the deity just as திருச்சிற்றம்பல மூவேந்த வேளான் and தில்லையம்பல மூவேந்த வேளான் used in those days. It is hardly necessary to add that the name Thyaga Vinodha Muvenda Velan cannot be called in aid to prove the king's title.

(4) The stanza No. 58 of *Maruthumalai Padalam* describes the ruler of the land of sacred Cauvery as Veeran Thyaga Vinodhan (வீரன் தியாக விநோதன்). The literary and epigraphic evidence of those times shows that the successive rulers of the land of Cauvery were all fond of the titles veeran and thyagi. The *Nandi Kalambakam* refers to its hero the Pallava King Nandhi Varman III as 'தியாகி என்னும் நந்தி' 'வீர நந்தி' 'காவிரிசூழ் திருநாடுடைய நந்தி'. *Vikrama Chola Ula* refers to Vikrama Chola (1135-1150 A.D.) as தியாக சமுத்திரம். Various inscriptions describe the first Rajadhiraja Chola (1042-1054 A.D.) as தியாகமே அணியாகக் கொண்டவன்; Veera Rajendran (1063-1070 A.D.) as வீரத்தனிக்கொடி தியாகக்கொடியோடு ஆண்டவன்; Adi Rajendra Cholan (1070 A.D.) as தியாகக்கொடியுடையோன் and Kulothunga I (1078-1118) வீரமும் தியாகமும் விளங்க பார் மிசை ஆண்டவன் (vide Annamalai University Silver Jubilee Publication—*Sundara Kandam—Part I*—Introduction pages XI to XII). Hence

there is no point in asserting that because Kulothunga uses 'வீரக்கொடியுடன் தியாகக் கொடி எடுத்து' in his inscriptions Thyaga Vinodhan is the exclusive title of the ruler.

For the foregoing reasons the identification of Thyaga Vinodhan in stanza 58 of *Maruthumalai Padalam* with Kulothunga III is not tenable.

(*b*) The stray stanza referred to for the second argument reads as follows :—

ஆவின் கொடைச்சகர ராயிரத்து நூறொழித்துத்
தேவன் திருவழுந்தூர் நன்னாட்டு—மூவலூர்ச்
சீரார் குணாதித்தன் சேயமையப் பாடினான்
காரார் காகுத்தன் கதை.

(1) The discoverer of this stanza Maha Vidwan R. Raghava Iyengar said, "சில ராமாயண ஏடுகளில் 'விடை கொடுத்த' படலத்தின் பின் சில அரிய செய்யுட்கள் வரையப்பட்டுள்ளன. அவற்றுள் இந்தச் செய்யுள் ஒன்றாகும்." (vide *Sentamil* Vol. III—page 53). This is literally copied with approval in 'தமிழ்ச் சுடர் மணிகள்' (vide pages 130-131) but in *Kamban Kavyam* he added "மிகப் பழைய ஏட்டுப் பிரதி யொன்றில் இந்தச் செய்யுள் காணப்படுகிறது." (vide page 86). He does not disclose the age of the manuscript in which it was found. One wonders whether it is earlier than the 16th century.

(2) There is no evidence as to who composed it and when. This is not one of the stanzas known to the traditional stories as embodied in 'தமிழ் நாவலர் சரிதை' and 'சோழ மண்டல சதகம்' which belonged to 17th and 18th centuries respectively, nor to Tamil Plutarch (1859) and 'புலவர் புராணம்' at the end of the 19th century.

(3) As for its interpretation both R. Raghava Iyengar and Vaiyapuri Pillai think that this means Saka Year 1100 corresponding to 1178 A.D., as the year of the com-

position of *Kamban Ramayanam.* But it is difficult to see how these learned men get over the expression ஆயிரத்து நூறொழித்து which would mean only a thousand years deducting a hundred years answering to 900 of Saka Era, corresponding to 978 A.D. This is exactly the interpretation put upon it by the learned editors of the 'Annamalai Silver Jubilee Publication—*Sundara Kandam* —1955.'

(4) It may be noted that in their stanza the name of Kamban is not at all mentioned but is simply described as the son of the great Gunadithan of Muvalur (மூவலூர்ச் சீரார் குணாதித்தன்). According to tradition there are as many as six different stories all pointing to the bastardy of the poet. It is difficult to see how these stories could have been invented if he was known to be the son of a great man.

(5) Further there is another 'Thanian' which makes the poet as the native of 'Therazhandur' describing him as "சீரணி சோழநாட்டுத் திருவழுந்தூருவச்சன், காரணி கொடையான் கம்பன்றமிழிறைற் கவிதை செய்தான். The proximity of Muvalur to Therazhandur does not solve the problem.

(6) There is the statement that the composition of Ramayana must have taken place in 1178 A.D. and that the alleged change of name of "Thiraimoor" as Thyaga Vinodha Arrur derives support from an inscription of the sixth year of Kulothunga. It is difficult to see how a poem finished in 1178 A.D. would refer to a title assumed by the ruler six years later, even if the assumption be true.

(c) Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai cites the 'Thanian' reading as follows :—

எண்ணிய சகாப்தம் எண்ணூற்றேழின் மேல் சடையன் வாழ்வு
நண்ணிய வெண்ணெய் நல்லூர் தன்னிலே கம்பநாடன்
பண்ணிய இராமகாதை பங்குனி அத்தநாளில்
கண்ணிய அரங்கர் முன்னே கவியரங்கேற்றினுனே.

and interprets the Saka year as 107 reading "எண் நூற்று ஏழு" what others read as "எண்ணூற்றேழு" or eight hundred and seven Saka year. He accepts the ingenious explanation of R. Raghava Iyengar that in practice 1107 is mentioned as 107 leaving out the thousand. But the question is when such practice as that came into existence.

Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai is not consistent with reference to this stanza. On page 149 of his *Kamban Kavyam* he treats it as a fabrication of the 16th century. We will deal with many problems arising out of this stanza at a later stage.

(*d*) Reliance is placed on the evidence afforded by a verse from *Tamil Navalar Charithai* which reads as follows :—

அவனிமுழு துண்டும் அயிரா பதத்துன்
பவனி தொழுவார் படுத்தும்—புவனி
உருத்திரா உன்னுடைய ஒரங்கல் நாட்டில்
குருத்திரா வாழைக்குழாம்.

This verse is said to have been a composition of Kamban himself addressed to Prathapa Rudra of Warangal in North Telugu country (Pratapa Rudra—1162 A.D. to 1191 A.D.).

(1) The composition of *Tamil Navalar Charithai* is admittedly at the end of 17th century. It has collected about 28 stanzas attributed to Kamban and his contemporaries. If all the stanzas are genuine, historically they contradict one another. For example, the stanza addressed to Prathapa Rudra is assigned to the end of 12th century when Kulothunga III was ruling over the entire Tamil Nad at least nominally. But a stanza found in *Tamil Navalar Charithai* as a work of Kamban viz.,

காத மிருபத்து நான்கொழிய காசினியை
ஓதக் கடல்கொண்டொளித்ததோ—மாதவா
கொல்லிமலையுடைய கொற்றவா நீமுனிந்தால்
இல்லையோ வெங்கட் கிடம்.

(page 76 of *Tamil Navalar Charithai* published by Saiva Siddhantha Nool Padippu Kazhagam) shows that the Chola ruler mentioned above must have been a petty ruler. If it is so it must represent an earlier period than the 10th century when the Cholas built up an empire.

(2) The learned Professor seems to realise the absurdity of a Tamil poem being appreciated by a Telugu ruler in a far-off country and seeks to support his position by an allegation that Kamban himself shows a familiarity with the Telugu language by the use of such words as "மசரதம், நம்பி, இச்சு, அக்கட and "அந்து" in his *Ramayanam.* But several commentators consider most of these words as "திசைச் சொல்." It is clear one need not go to Telugu land to learn these words. When the Pallavas ruled over the land between the Krishna and Cauvery, there must have been an intermingling of Telugu and Tamil populations as we see today.

(3) The legend connected with this stanza is of a tell-tale character. It may be remembered that from the 16th century Telugu rule was established at Madurai, Tanjore and Gingee. It looks as though a Tamil poet invented the story as a sort of compensation for their degradation. The legend says that Kamban quarrelled with the Chola ruler and went in exile to Warangal and afterwards returned triumphantly to the Chola Court with the ruler of Warangal acting as his betel box carrier !

(4) Professor K. A. N. Sastry has dealt with this aspect of the matter and states as follows :—

"The story goes that Kamban commanded the rule of all the sovereigns of his time, including the Pandya and the Kakatyia Rudra and that the Chola Ruler jealous of his fame and anxious to get rid of his over-mighty subject plotted his murder and executed it in person. There is no means yet of deciding if this *puerile* account of the poet's end has any foundation—Italics is mine. (*Colas.* 1955 edition, page 672).

(*e*) Next is an attempt made to fix the age of Sadayan, the acknowledged patron of Kamban. Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai strikes a note of caution that legends have gathered round the name of Sadayan as much as in the case of Kamban. These legends are embodied in *Tamil Navalar Charithai* and *Cholamandala Sathakam.* It is also natural that the proverbial poverty of the poets and panegyrics exaggerate the importance and the greatness of the man who patronized them. It is possible that in subsequent times when patrons were scarce the poets would look back with glamour for the past patrons. Hence apart from *Chola Mandala Chathakam* and *Tamil Navalar Charithai* there are other stanzas handed down the centuries. Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai rejects some of them and utilises a few in support of his theory of the end of 12th century as the age of Kamban. We propose to examine the value of such materials as he relies on.

(1) *Kamba Ramayanam* gives the names of Kamban's patron as Sadayan and Sararaman. Another name Kannan is also found in some manuscripts. His place said to be Thiruvennainallur is identified now with a small hamlet on the banks of Cauvery as Kadirkamam, not far from Mayavaram. The poem itself does not give any indication of his status or his parentage or any other residence. Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai relies on *Chola Mandala Chathakam* for another residence. The stanza reads as follows :—

மெய்கழுவி வந்து விருந்துண்டு மீளுபவர்
கைகழுவ நீர்போதுங் காவேரி—போய்கழுவும்
போர்வேற் சடையன் புதுவையா னில்லறத்தை
யார்போற்ற வல்லா ரறிந்து.

He infers from this that Sadayan was Puduvaiyan. It means a native of Puduvai. The learned Professor does not either identify the place with any present day village nor does he locate it in relation to Thiruvennainallur. He notes that the same stanza occurs in an inscription at

Muvalur. From that he asserts that the authenticity of the stanza cannot be questioned. Unfortunately the Muvalur inscription is not dated. Apparently he thinks that the stone record is more reliable than the cadjan record.

(2) As a matter of fact, the very same stanza occurs in *Tamil Navalar Charithai* also. The learned editor of *Tamil Navalar Charithai* points out that the Muvalur inscription was copied out in AR No. 29 of 1925 and Puduvai becomes Puduvaipuri in an inscription of Thirukkodikaval copied out in AR No. 58 of 1930-31. Professor K. A. N. Sastry in his Cholas talks of Sadayan alias Sararaman whom he identifies with "Trigarta", mentioned in *Vikrama Chola Ula* and in the undated inscriptions from Muvalur and Thirukkodikaval in which he is also described as the "Cedirya" of the Ganga race. Professor Sastry identifies "Cedi" country with the hilly country round about Thirukkoilur and Killiyur in South Arcot District. Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai relies on *Chola Mandala Sathakam* for describing Sadayan as "Vennai Trigartan". Now "Trigartan" means one who has fed the entire entourage of all the three crowned heads of Tamil Nad. viz., Chera, Chola and Pandya Rulers. One wonders when all these three rulers were the guests at Thiruvennainallur!

(3) *Vikrama Chola Ula* does not refer to the place of "Trigarta" of his times but only describes him as a conqueror of Kongu and Coorg. (vide *Vikrama Chola Ula* stanza No. 88). Now stanza No. 84 of the same *Ula* refers to the chieftain of Chedi as a conqueror of the land of Kannadas. It is clear that they are different personages altogether. Further from the days of *Purananooru* down to the days of the later Cholas, Chedirayas were Malayans (மலையமான்) (vide *Purananooru* No. 125 and Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas,* pages 65, 106 and 174). The trigarta referred to in *Vikrama Cholan Ula* is not identifiable with any of the known heroes of the times of Vikrama Chola (vide Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas,* II, page 88).

(4) Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai relies on another stray stanza quoted on page 156 of *Tamil Chudar Manigal* for the position that Sadayan's father was Sankaran of Puduvai in whose domestic service Ottakkoothan was alleged to have been employed in early life. That stanza refers to

"புதுவையம் பதிதங்கு புண்ணிய சேகரன் சங்கரன் தருசடையன்',

The learned professor does not say from which source he got this stanza though he boldly asserts that it is a contemporary poem in praise of Sadayan. He relies also on *Chola Mandala Sathakam* No. 93 for the statement :

"புதுவைச் சடையன் பொருந்து சங்கரனுக்கு
உதவித் தொழில் புரியும் ஒட்டக்கூத்தன்."

In the absence of any confirmatory evidence we cannot accept the former stanza as a genuine one of the time of Sadayan himself and we require more substantial evidence to say that Sankaran, the employer of Ottakkoothan, was the father of Sadayan the patron of Kamban. *Chola Mandala Sathakam* itself is a work of the 18th century. The *Tamil Navalar Charithai* has a stanza attributed to Kamban stating that Kandan is the father of Sadayan. It is inexplicable how the learned professor ignores this stanza (vide No. 90 of *Tamil Navalar Charithai*, page 77).

(5) On the basis of the stanzas quoted above, he concludes that Ottakkoothan was a senior contemporary of Kamban. We know that Ottakkoothan has sung of the glories of three successive Chola rulers, viz., Vikrama (1118-1135), Kulothunga II (1135-1150), and Raja Raja Cholan II (1152-1163) but does not sing about the Rajadhi Raja II (1163-1178). It is difficult to hold that he was also a court poet in the time of Kulothunga III (1178-1216) the successor of the last one. Other research workers such as the learned editors of the Adyar Kalakshetram edition of *Moovar Ula* and the author of *Kavi Rakshasan* find no trace of any evidence in support of the theory that

Kamban was a contemporary of Ottakkoothan (vide page 12 of the introduction to *Moovar Ula* and page 11 of Kavi Rakshasan). Pandarathar says that Ottakkoothan died in the time of Rajadhi Raja II (1150-1163)—(vide page 118, Part II of Pandarathar's *History of the Later Cholas*).

(6) It is somewhat inexplicable why Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai does not at all refer to the inscriptions at Ukkal where it is recorded that Sadayan helped the Mahasabha there with a loan of one thousand kadis of paddy at one time and four hundred kadis of paddy at another time directing them to feed two brahmins a day and to repair an irrigation tank with interest thereof. They belonged to 10th and 15th years of the reign of Kambavarman who flourished at the end of the 9th century. The omission seems to be that he was only searching for support in favour of his 12th century theory.

(7) If tradition be given any credit at all, it may be there were a number of Sadayans from the 9th century onwards. But the question is, who patronised Kamban ?

(*f*) The question whether Ottakkoothan jealously guarded his position and influence at the Chola Court and kept down young poets including Kamban does not arise. There is absolutely no shred of evidence that they were either contemporaries or were together at any king's court. The chief poet of Kulothunga III's court was Veerantha Pallavarayar (vide page 164, Part II Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas*).

(*g*) The statement that Kamban the Vaishnavite did not find favour with Kulothunga III, whose state religion was Saivism, and that those were not days of toleration, is not tenable. There is no evidence whatsoever that Kulothunga III was intolerant or anti-Vaishnavite. On the other hand, there is ample evidence afforded by inscriptions that though he was an ardent Saivite himself, endowed

liberally Vaishnava temples and Jain institutions. He built a Vishnu temple at Velur in South Arcot District and lent his own name to it as குலோத்துங்கசோழ விண்ணகரம் and endowed for it the entire village of "Kulothunga Chola Nallur" (vide pages 162 & 163, Part II, Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas*). It is difficult to see whence Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai got his information about the intolerance of Kulothunga III.

(*h*) That Kamban was neglected by literary circles as he did not follow the poetic tradition of his days is not supported by any evidence given by Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai and it seems to be a mere speculation. No doubt *Tamil Navalar Charithai* has a stanza attributed to 'Vanian Thathan' attacking Kamban, and reading as follows :—

> கைம்மணிச் சீரன்றி சீரறியா கம்பநாடன் சொன்ன
> மும்மணிக்கோவை முதற்சீர் பிழை.

Unfortunately, the poem மும்மணிக்கோவை attributed to Kamban is not available. Further, the description of Kamban as Kamba Nadan is an invention of the 16th century according to Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai (vide his *Kamban Kavyam* page 149). It is interesting to note that the same Vanian Thathan is alleged to have paid the highest tribute to Kamban according to *Tamil Navalar Charithai*, stanza 107, page 89, reading as follows :—

> இன்றேருநங் கம்பனிறந்த நாளிப்புவியில்
> இன்றேருதான் புன்கவிகட் கேற்றநாள்—இன்றேருதான்
> பூமடந்தைவாழப் புவிமடந்தை வீற்றிருப்ப
> காமடந்தை நூல்வாங்கு நாள்.

(*i*) It is somewhat amusing that Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai should say that in spite of the opposition of the royal court and literary circles, his genius was recognised by the common people who immediately awarded him the title of "Kavi-c-chakravarthi". He cites in support of it

what he calls a contemporary poem which reads as follows :—

> கம்பநாடுடைய வள்ளல கவிச்சக்கரவர்த்தி பார்மேல்
> நம்பு பாமாலையாலே நரருக்கின்றமுத மீந்தான்.

(vide pages 126 & 127 of his *Kamban Kavyam*). Unfortunately he contradicts the same on page 149 of the same book that the expressions "Kamba Nadan" and "Kavi-c-chakravarthi" are inventions of the 16th century. Further, what he reads as இன்றமுதம் in the above stanza is given as இன்னமுதம் in other editions (vide Sunnakam Kumaraswamy Pillai's *Balakandam*).

(*j*) Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai does not adduce any evidence for the statement that Kamban lived at the most prosperous period of Tamil History. He seems to point out that the achievement of empire under the later Cholas in the 10th century was itself the best evidence (vide *Tamil Chudar Manigal*, pages 121 & 122). It is difficult to see how the achievement of imperial power in the 10th century will help to fix the age of Kamban. On the contrary he says (page 153 of *Kamban Kavyam*) that at the beginning of the 12th century the Chola power was at its height and that it looked as though Kamban appeared just then to give artistic expression to the sovereign power. But according to his own conclusion, Kamban did not live at the beginning of it but at the end of it. Historians such as Messrs. Sathiyanathier, K. A. N. Sastry and Pandarathar are all agreed that the height of the imperial power was reached during the 11th century but had declined from the beginning of the 12th century. Mr. Sathiyanathier says, "Early in the reign of Kulothunga I (1070-1118), Ceylon became independent (1075) and towards the close of it, Ganga Desa (1117) Mysore and Vengi (1118). The Tamil country, as far as Rameswaram was raided by Vishnu Vardhana Hoysala (1104-1141). Troubles in the Pandya country engrossed the attention of the Cholas from 1169 to 1177 and from 1182 to 1189. The Telugu Cholas seized

Kanchi which was however recovered by Kulothunga III about 1196. The growth of feudatory puissance during the 12th century weakened the central authority (causing so much internal troubles by the rebellion of local chieftains and the invasion by the Ceylonese in the days of their King Parakrama Bahu the Great, (1153-1186)." [Vide *Studies in the Ancient History of Tondamandalam*, Madras University, Sankara Parvathi lectures 1943-44, pages 41 & 42. (vide Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas*, Part II, pages 128 to 136 and 147 to 158.)]

As a matter of fact all through the reign of Kulothunga III during which Kamban is believed to have lived, the Chola ruler had to carry on a ceaseless fight against one or other of the rebellious feudatories. Though he was mostly successful against individual rebels, he was unable to prevent compacts being formed among them, in order to regulate their conduct towards the Emperor. These facts had the effect of converting the class of official nobles into a number of local autocratic rulers. The empire dissolved itself into a number of warring principalities. Eventually at the end of his reign he had the bitterness to see his homeland of Cauvery invaded, his capitals of Tanjore and Urandhai (Trichy) burnt down to ashes and his coronation all desecrated and his crown made a gift of to a Bana (poet) (from whom the Chola king is said to have received it). (Vide K. A. N. Sastry's *Cholas*, pages 393 & 407 revised edition—1955). The historian Pandarathar differs from him and states that the Pandyan invasion took place at the time of his son Raja Raja III immediately after his death or retirement.

Under such circumstances it is clear that the last quarter of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century marked the decline and decay of the Chola Empire.

(To be continued)

Tentative periodization of the development of Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL.

OLD TAMIL

(?—cca 6th, 7th century A.D.)

We must not be afraid to put the question mark at the very beginning; the beginnings of Tamil as a separate independent language of the Dravidian family are not yet elucidated and the exact limits are most difficult to ascertain. It seems to be clear that we may presume a hypothetical stage which might be called *Proto-Tamil (several centuries B.C.?) and which, in its turn, has developed out of a hypothetical unity of Tamil and Kannada (and possibly some other territorial dialects) which might be termed * Proto-South Dravidian. Malayalam at this stage. if differentiated at all, was probably only a territorial dialect of Western Tamil country, of the Cera land.[1]

1. *Early Old Tamil*

?—cca 3rd, 4th century A.D.)

The language of most of the Et:t:utthokai and Patthuppa:t:t:u texts, especially of the early poems of

[1] The exact limits of the beginnings of Malayalam are still difficult to ascertain. According to L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar and A. C. Sekhar, the *9th* and *10th* Centuries mark the end of this epoch. Thus we can assume that characteristically Malayalam forms existed in the speech of the West Coast for at least one or two centuries before they became acceptable in writing.

It is difficult yet to say if the language of the short inscriptions found in natural caverns in the Mathurai and Tirunhelve: li districts was Tamil at all. It may be the most ancient Tamil so far known to epigraphy; it may, on the other hand, be a hybridized form of Prakrit or Pali, strongly Tamilized. At any rate, it contains very many Prakrit words and forms. The inscriptions are unfortunately too short and brief and they have been too inadequately treated to offer a solid base for any far-reaching conclusions.

Putam, Akam, Nhattin: ai and Kutunthokai collections.

Characteristics :

1. *Morphology* : (a) Nominal : Total or nearly total absence of some later typical suffixes of casal relations (e.g. acc. suff. *-ai*, abl. suff. *-ilirunthu*, *-inintu*, inst. suff. *-a:l*, soc. suff. *-o:t:u*) and pluralizations (suff. *-kal:*). Typical ancient pronominal forms like *ya:m*, *ya:n*, dem. pron. *uthu* (side by side with *ithu*, *athu*) etc. (b) Verbal : total absence of present-tense morphome. The verb has two tenses (aorist-future and preterite) which seem to be rather aspects (momentaneous-durative, perfective-imperfective) than tenses. Some characteristic ancient verbal forms like the *-th*-type form : e.g. *na:tuthum* "we smell", *ontuthum* "we are alone". Typical personal endings (e.g. *-al*, *-um*) and absence of later personal endings like *-o:m* and double plural endings like *-i:rkal:*. Absence of passive.[2] Verbal nouns and verbal bases are richly employed.

2. *Syntaxis* : Typical clusters of bases (roots, stems) are used to express different syntactic relations. Absence of morphemes to express syntactic relations. Functional syncretism of casal suffixes. Pronominalised nouns (appellative verbs) and verbal nouns used very frequently as predicates. Combinations of verbs (union of verbs with verbs or nouns) introducing shades of aspect and tenses are only beginning to take shape. Word-order is significant, but not obligatory, often quite free, especially under pressure of metrical form ; in principle, the determinant precedes the determined, often, however, the object is preceded by the verb, subject by predicate. Groups are extended almost indefinitely, proposition being of the same nature as group, abounding in cascades of word roots (stems) with zero-morphemes.

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[2] I have come however across a case which definitely looks like passive construction, in Nhattin : ai 122,2, formed by verbal base plus the verb *un* :—to eat : *karung ka : t centhinai kat : iyum un : t'*: *ana*/cf comment. . . . . tin : *aikkathirella : m koyyappat : t : a—a* "and the red millet of black stems has been cut."

3. *Lexicon*: Very few borrowed Indo-Aryan elements are found; they are rather Prakritic than Sanskrit. The borrowing gradually increases.

2. *Middle Old Tamil*

(cca 3rd, 4th—5th, 6th century A.D.)

The language of the later poems of Et:t:utthokai and Patthuppa:t:t:u (e.g. Kalitthokai, Paripa:t:al) and of the earlier poems of Pathinen:ki:l-kkan:akku (Kutal:, Kalaval-i etc.).

To the characteristics already described must be added especially: causative verb-bases in *-uv-* and *-vi, -kk-, -pikk-, -ppikk-*; preference for the 2nd pl. suff. *-i:r*; occurrence of final participles in *-va:n, -pa:n, -pa:kku*; honorific pl. *-va:rum* etc. Increasing use of Indo-Aryan loanwords of mixed Prakritic and Sanskrit origin.

3. *Late Old Tamil*

(cca 4th, 5th—6th, 7th century A.D.)

The language of the later and latest poems of Pathinen:ki:l-kkan:akku (Na:lat:iyar:r, Inna:nha:tpathu, Palamol-i, etc.) and of the Cilappathika:ram.

To the characteristic features of Old Tamil must be added especially some important trends and forms which appear for the first time: use of special morpheme of the present tense (*-kint-, -kkint-*); use of a special morpheme of objective case (*-ai*) with rationals and sometimes even with non-rationals; use of the pl. suffix *-kal:*; new developments in verbal endings (e.g. *-o:m*). Also, the typical clusters of roots become dissolved, word-order becomes more significant and bound. The number of Indo-Aryan loan-words still increases.

Middle Tamil

(cca 6th, 7th cent. A.D.—17th, 18th cent.)

It is the language of the Shaiva na:yana:rs and Vaishnava a:l-va:rs which shows distinctly new features and

new developments when compared with the language of the so-called Sangam poetry. Perhaps we are not far from truth when suspecting this new type of language to be, contrary to the artificial, literary language of the Sangam texts, the idiom spoken by the masses, by the people.[3]

All those features of grammar which have been described as sporadic and new in the Old Tamil period, become to be regular and widely employed in the language of these mystic poets: 1st p. pl. ending *-o:m*, present tense morpheme *-kint-*, *-kkint-*, pl. suffix *-kal*: etc. New forms and new functions appear (e.g. the frequent use of the refl. pron. *ta:n* as indeclinable emphatic participle) hand in hand with the changes in syntactic structure: clusters of roots dissolve in primary and secondary propositions mostly adverbial (temporal, casual, modal); the word order (Subject-Object-Predicate) becomés strict, though not rigid; new and more specialized morphemes spring into existence to express syntactic relations; some ancient verbal forms disappear, double plural verb endings are used, honorific forms are frequent.

Free use of Indo-Aryan, and, in this period, especially of Sanskrit borrowings, is progressively increasing, till, in the Middle Middle and Late Middle Tamil periods the language is overcharged with them.

We may, again, distinguish three stages of this period:

1. *Early Middle Tamil*

(6th, 7th cent. A.D.—850 A.D.)

The writings of the earlier Saiva na:yana:rs and Vaishnava a:l-va:rs, Perungkathai, Man:ime:kalai, Perunthe:-vana:r's Pa:ratham etc.

[3] This assumption agrees with the general efforts and missions of the great Shaiva and Vaishnava pakthi poets: they wanted to get at the masses, they took pains to captivate the heart of the people, theirs was an apostolic mission, they did not compose their works for the few *kala: racikal*: but for the illiterate masses of the simple folk; it is thus quite natural that they should employ the language of the people.

2. *Middle Middle Tamil*

(850 A.D.—1200 A.D.)

E.g. Ci:vakacintha:man:i, Kampara:ma:yan:am, Periya Pura:n:am, early man:iprava:la style, early commentaries.

3. *Late Middle Tamil*

(1200—cca. 1750—1800)

This stage begins with the language of Civajnja:napo:tham, typical is the language of the famous commentators and rahasyas, as well as of the Pa:ratham of Villipputthu:rar. Extreme development of Late Middle Tamil may be seen in the rich man:iprava:la style showing immense number of Sanskrit loans and only partly retaining the Tamil morphologic and syntactic structures.

For the Middle Middle and Late Middle stages are typical some morphologic developments like e.g. *nat:ava:nhinte:n*, pres. tense for nat:akkinte:n, imperative in *-e:l*, frequent use of the passive formed with *paz:u-* and *un:-*.

New Tamil

(cca 1750-1800 to the present day)

The New Tamil period may be said to begin with the origins of Tamil prose,[4] i.e., with the works of F. Beschi, Civajnja:na Cuva:mikal: (1785) T.Ra:ya Mut:aliya:r (1850).

The origins and development of modern Tamil prose has caused the use of commonplace sayings, idioms of the colloquial form of the language, territorial dialectic forms in literature which, in its turn (today together with radio and film), has influenced immensely the development of the language. Also, a still increasing averseness to introducing too many Sanskrit words may be observed, on the

[4] By modern prose I mean the artistic prose, the prose of fiction, not the scientific prose of the commentaries which was, naturally, in existence already for several centuries.

other hand, words of other languages (Urdu, Portuguese, French and, above all, English) have been freely adopted.

It is necessary to stress that this tentative scheme of the periods of Tamil language development is only tentative and that it is strictly schematical. It does not, e.g. take into account some special features of development as shown in the Tamil of Ceylon. It is based only on literary remnants. I should like to point out a few desiderata in this connection.

The following tasks must be fulfilled to enable the scholars to determine an exact and detailed periodization of the evolution of Tamil :

1. Every (or at least every typical, characteristic and important) literary work and every linguistic text (i.e. every linguistic datum, be it an epigraph engraved in stone, an inscription on pottery or a literary work preserved in palm-leaf manuscripts or orally) must be analysed and described from the philological point of view and, if its absolute dating is impossible, the relative date of its origin must be at least tentatively stated.

2. Special territorial developments must be taken into account. This means the foundation of Tamil dialectology and linguistic geography.

3. This is connected closely with the next demand, viz. to pay attention to the colloquial form of speech ; this means extensive field-work : to try to capture the Tamil speech in all its forms and manifestations (by the means of modern apparatus like magnetophone and experimental phonetic apparatus).

4. Attention must be paid also to the Tamil folklore which very often preserves obsolete and very important forms.

The task is enormous, and it must be mostly (especially the last three points) carried out by the Tamils themselves.

The Song of Madurai

மதுரைக்காஞ்சி

V. KANDASWAMI MUDALIAR

(*Continued from previous issue*)

Charioteers deeply versed in trainer's art
Urged their horses to mad-wind speed, when chariots
With the added grace of white maned horses
Harnessed to them sped fast, raising a cloud
Of sanguine dust which screened the blazing sun ;
And horses speeding to the bewitching toss of manes
Pomoted and well dressed left behind
A trail of deep hoof-marks ; and this was like
A flight of red-legged swans of feathers
Snow-white, trying to reach the radiant sun.
With the rumble of chariot-wheels, the clip-clop-clep
Of racing horses, and the trumpeting loud
Of stately tuskers mixed the cry of hawkers.
Standing in purple and cool shadows of mansions,
Flower-girls with perfumed flowers and garlands
Colourful, bewitchingly arranged,
Sellers with betel leaves green,
Tender and long-stalked, with chunam paste[1]
Of fired conch, arecanuts stewed in juice
Of karungali-bark,[2] and chewing-powder[3]
Perfumed and pulverized of camphor, sandal,
Gold and civet, cried out their wares exposed
For sale in their baskets large as kettle drums
Of warriors gleaming with hero-anklets
And golden flowers. And sturdy warriors

1-3 Chewing betel leaf still obtains in India ; betel leaf with a pinch of chunam paste, arecanuts and perfumed powder is munched after meal, it helps salivation like sweets after dinners.

Inebriate and of elephant port
Shambled about the crowd-surging street.
When hush fell, as at the end of battle
Of four-fold[4] armies contending, people caught
In the shouldering crowd heaved a sigh of relief.
When eve fell, when the crowd thinned and when
Silence reigned, the streets echoed with foot-falls
Soft, with muffled clops, with silvern voices
Of courtesans of seductive peacock grace,
Of blond complexion fair as rays of eve,
Reflected from golden statues of shoulders round
And sleek like hollow bamboo,[5] encircled
With bright anklets, of looks as mortal
As arrow-darts, of ensnaring pearl-rows
Of teeth, of languid ink-black tresses,
Of voluptuous breasts mantled with pink-fair
Chloiasma[6] and painted[7] with creeper design,
Who, eagerly bent on their way for embraces
Lascivious of lustful youths, promenaded.
Against the loud ensnaring allurements
Of these, moved in modest matronly grace,
Old dames of silver-white hair made up
Into the shape of right-whorled conch of the deeps
Hawking from door to door their viands diverse
And delicious and fragrant, and colourful
Flowers bewitchingly arranged in their trays.
Thus passed the evening hour of ablution
On the seventh day of the festivity
Unparalleled in grace, colour and sound
In the bazaar streets of four-boroughed
Madura-land, whose far and near crowd
Incoming and outgoing does not diminish
Nor swell, as the waters of the seas do not

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[4] Bowmen, lancers, chariots and war-elephants.

[5] This is a common simile in Tamil literature, comparing the round smooth shoulders of a woman to round, smooth bamboo.

[6] This is considered a mark of beauty.

[7] Painting the breasts and shoulders of a woman, by her lover, in creeper patterns was common then.

Decrease through thirsty clouds nor increase
By the winter freshes of rivers of land.
The broad streets echo with the rattle of chariot wheels
And tramp of prancing horses ; and handsome youths
Of rank, and generous as blue rain-clouds,
Arrayed with gold-brocaded *kachams,* as pink
As gorgeous clouds of the colourful west,
And with gold-hafted swords depending bright
From flaming girdles, and with hero-anklets
Gleaming round their ankles firm and close knit
And indurated, urge to racing-wind speed
Their chariots wrought in grace ; their whips rattle loud
In their sockets, their neem-garlands, a mark
Of the wane of fame and strength of enemies,
Sway in company with their blue garlands
Of sengalineir[8] flowers, their pink scarves
Flutter in the wind, and footmen steer clear
The way full with the last-lingering crowd
The Nayanar[9] festival is loud
With colour and sound ; and colourful banners
On adamantive staffs of storied mansions
Stream in the wind like spume flags of green waves
Towering, of the sapphire seas ; and screened
Behind them vanish as they appear,
Like the full moon behind dark-blue clouds,
The radiant faces of stately damsels.
The festive streets overflow with the fragrance
Of civet, with the soft silver chime
Of pearl-hearted beaming anklets,
With the golden radiance of jewelry
Flashing, and flower-graved bracelets wrought
Out of divine gold purified in fire,
And with the winsome charm of damsels
Bright of face as the golden sheen
Of ear-pendants fashioned like shark-fish.

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[8] Deep crimson or purple water-lily.
[9] The chief of the tutelary gods.

The music of evening worship softly rings,
When men pure in body and mind offer
Delicious food and flowers radiant, unfading
To the lofty Siva[10] girdled with the sword
Flaming, wrought with the elements five
Of ether, fire, air, earth and water,
And to other awe-inspiring deities.
Bedecked in blazing jewelry, women
Of chaste matronly grace, with their children
Against their full firm breasts, looking like
Gold-hearted lotuses, join at prayer.
With their well-beloved lords of sweet
Conjugal felicity, in the worship
Regular of Amana[11] monasteries.
In the Brahmin monasteries huddled
Like hills rise the clear chant of Vedas,
The blue curling smoke and the golden flame
Of sacrificial fire, and other rites of priests,
Who have become one with Brahmam, who is
In and through the universe ; and these
Who have gained the bliss of heaven after
Having lived a householder's life in lands
Fourfold of the firm earth, by walking
In the righteous path of love for man and beast,
Share their bliss with other jeevan mukthas.[12]
The redeemed—of the Brahmin monasteries.
Jain mutts[13] high as reach of human eye
Rise like rock-temple from groves full with flowers
Rare, fragrant and colourful, whose high walls
Are sculptured like high-relief bronze-work.
From other mutts cool as the waters of a tank
Rises soft the chant of those who offer prayers
With incense smoke, and flowers alive

10 One of the gods of the Hindu triad ; the destroyer.

11 Jain and frequently applied to Buddhist ; Buddhism merged into earlier Jainism and came to the equated as Vaishnavism and Saivism are equated as Hinduism ; the one erotic and the other ascetic.

12 Those who have realised God even in a house-holder's life

13 Mutts, monasteries of Jains, Brahmins and Buddhists.

With the chorus of gold-banded bees;
Wherein live those sages, who by penance,
Without bodily mortifications,
Have gained the peace that comes through subduing
Their senses five, and those wise seers who read
The past and the future, and who have
A knowledge of heaven and earth; from whose mutt roofs
Hang in nets bowls as narrow of mouths
As the clefts in rocks of towering hills.
As holy priests, who raise sacrificial fire
Leading to heaven, subdue the king and so
The assembly of wise ministers far-famed
And of flaming-white turbans decorated
With golden lace[14] of regal honour, guard the King
From all ill-fame, and lead in path lofty
Of righteousness that comes through elevating
His people by planting in them the love
Of kith, kin and all things living, after
Weighing impartially, like the beam
Unswerving of the scales, his good and evil.
Man and wife walking in the righteous path
Of householders live in mansions fair, huddled close
Like their neighbouring hills; and on the heights
Towering, of mansions full with viands
Varied, eagles rest and jubilantly cry.
And beside them live merchants who trade
In products of hills, land, sea, as gold
Precious, peerless pearls and colourful gems,
And also priests, captains, ambassadors
And spies of four-fold jargon, like knightly kosas
Affecting four different tongues, who live
In Mogoor of the chieftain king, Pazhaiyan[15]
Ever fertile through unfailing rains.
Your four-square streets beam with the colour
And ring with the hum of crowded traders

[14] A strip of gold-leaf decoration given by the king and worn on the face of a turban.

[15] The chieftain King of Magoor.

And artisans standing shoulder to shoulder
And hip to hip ; weavers great and small spread
Their sarees in ripple-folds and hawk them ; sellers
Of bangles cut and fashion slender conch wristlets ;
Jewellers drill gems to beads and string them
Into necklaces of blue sapphires, corals
And pearls ; goldsmiths exhibit their ornaments
Fashioned out of purest gold, and those who
Determine the purity of gold stand
By them ; braziers weigh and barter their wares
Old and new ; drapers do the kachams[16]
To the latest fashion ; flower girls,
Akil[17] and sandal sellers, and artists
Keen-eyed, who paint in cunning colours and true,
Finish up the motley crowd of Bazaar-streets.
In the evening-bazaar, the cry of hawkers
Of juicy jacks, sweet and rare mangoes,
And other fruits mingles with the jubilation
Of eating-houses where people feast on milk-rice
Sweetened with candy sweeter than nectar,
And on savoury meat-rice served with
Other delicious dishes of cooked roots,
Vegetables and fresh greens, luxuriant
Through the never-failing seasonal rains.
This babel of voices is like the surge in halls
Of assembly, where men adept in debates
Religious, argue and discourse before
The Chera-king of gleaming palm-flower garland[18]
Whose praises are sung, to the beat of drums,
By the minstrels of his cool seaboard land
It is like the tumult that rises aloud
In the noon of day, when full-sailed, stately
Merchantmen, to carry to distant lands
Diverse products, cast anchor in the seaport
Stenchy, where the Kaveri[19] empties itself ;

16 Probably turbans.
17 Cagil-wood (aquilaria agallocha)
18 Insignia of Chera King.
19 A river in Chola country, now it drains Tanjore.

It is also like the noisy twitter
Of crop-full birds, as they fly down to feed,
In the fast-falling eve, their eager nestlings.
In the evening hour when the sun, abating
Its fiery rays, sets behind western hills,
When the moon, grown full after sixteen days
Of waxing, rises in east making noon of night.
Fawn-eyed women beloved of their kind
For their chastity, eager for the embraces
Of their husbands, deck themselves with garlands
Of fragrant water-lilies and radiant jewelry,
Smear their bodies with sandal and musk,
Anoint their long tresses with scented oil,
Smoke their diaphanous, flower-worked sarees
With the perfume of akil and sandal.
Smitten with amour at the approach of night
Convivial, after the hush of noisy day,
They light their hundred lamps of golden tongues,
Illumining the town to its very borders
Round, to welcome home their dear absent lords.
They then raise, by turns, enrapturing music
In their seven-tuned small harps ; and after
Amour, with the return of modesty
Dearer than life, quiescently repose.
And courtesans of affected modesty
And seductive, eager for the lascivious
Embraces of bucks deck their raven black hairs
With flowers of heaven-reaching perfume.
The broad festive streets, littered with fallen
Opening buds, overflow with fragrance
Luxurious, and with the jingle of courtesans
Wandering for the sweet seductions of night,
Who set their straying jewelry ; and decked
Abright with almost a bower of buds,
Varied in hue and sweet perfumed, which open
To the chorus of circling bees, hasten
For further captivations of enrapturing night.

At dawn pearl-winged bees hum their flatteries
Round the fallen flowers at their portals,
And desert after draining their honey cups;
And so the courtesans spend the balmy night!
Locked in the arms of lustful youths,
To the print of their jewelled garlands,
On their supple full breasts, and rob them
Of their wealth with honeyed words of loving
Affectations, and leave them in the lurch.
In their mansions overflowing with perfume
And illuminated with golden flames,
Courtesans, ravishingly fair as nymphs
Of heaven, decked with beaming jewelry
Of purest gold, spend the night with youths,
Who, like birds that go in quest of trees
Fruit-laden, gather round them. And the courtesans
With these gay gallants gambol in water
Cool, of Vaigai river, rest on sand dunes
Playing on harps and drums, till far
Into the night and then desert in haste.
And girdled round their swaying waists with wreaths
Of water-lilies, and cresses hanging
Over their languid zones for other captivations
Seductive, hurry to their stately mansions
Full with perfume of enrapturing flowers.
On the bright Onam-day[20] of the birthday
Festivity of Nannan,[21] the king radiant
With golden garland in token heroic
Of vanquishing the host of Avunas,[22]
Heroic warriors, inebriate with toddy,
Heedlessly wandered about the streets littered
With sharp steel gravels thrown in the mad path
Of battle-tuskers, for the abatement of their speed,
By goaders from the lap-folds of their tunics
Of broad, blue borders. The hands of warriors

[20] Now an important Malayalee festival; basically a harvest festival; has mythological associations with Mahabali, the asura king.
[21] A great chieftain king.
[22] அவுண· அசுரர்.

Are indurated with training tuskers
Of war, death dealing, whose heads are covered
With scars of battle, and their thumbai garlands,
To the hum of bees, sway round their shoulders,
And love of war ever burns in their hearts.
With milk surging in full round breasts, women
Of matronly grace, newly delivered
Of children, to the great joy of their husbands,
Wash, with their kith, kin and others
Of their households, the pollution of child birth,
In the holy waters of the temple tank ;
And join in worship to the sweet melody
Of harps set in tune with drums large and small,
By food offerings before the golden flames
Of camphor, when enceinte women of pea-cock gait
Pray for a similar deliverance
And safe of their first and anxious conception,
As augured by the presiding, god-possessed
Priestess of broad, full and rounded shoulders.
With these mingles the surge of devil dame-square,
Where the awe-inspiring priest, decked abright
With a garland of kurinchi[23] flowers
Of winter, dances to the music silvern
Of pellet-anklets[24] and hand-silambu ;
And apprises the crowd of the cause
Of their several misfortunes, and offers
Propitiatory worship to Muruga
Decked with kadamba[25] flowers. The festive
Birth-day of far-famed Nannan finished up
With the surge of kuravai dance and song,
Of man and wife, in the villages
Several and cheries of Madura-town ;
Thus passed the first watch of the night.
When conch trolls the end of first watch, women
Stately and modest of mien, decked with jewels,

23 Now applied to blue flowers of Nilgiri Hills, Stubilanthes Gunthianes.

24 Pearl or jewel hearted anklet, and the same is used as a hand musical instrument by priests when they dance in ecstatic-square.

25 Wendlaudia Notoniama (bot.).

Shut their booths of sliding plank-doors, to rest
For the night, and confectioners of cakes
Spongy as beehive, of sweet puffs with dhol
And cocoanut stuffed and sweetened with candy,
And of cates stewed in honey, sink to sleep
By their confection baskets beside.
  Dancers, pipers, trumpeters and others,
At the end of the festivity, lie hushed in sleep
Like the sea that calms after its surge.
  In the darkness of midnight,
When evil spirits wander with demons deadly,
Swarthy thieves, one with the dark night, dressed
In tunics, black as hide of tuskers stately,
Over their many-coloured underwears,
And dusky turbans, cower about the streets
For a chance to steal jewelry ; swords hang
By their sides, deadly daggers and hidden
In the rippled folds of their underwears ;
Rope-ladders are wound round their loins, and they
Wander about with sandaled feet, and armed
With chisels to which even firm stone walls
And steel-bound heavy doors will easily yield.
  While armed with unerring bows and arrows
City-guards, versed deep in criminology
Fearless of evil spirits and unmindful
Of heavy rains of the night that flood
The broad streets, go round their night watches
Spying for thieves, who vanish in the twinkle
Of an eye, and wait under cover
To pounce upon them, as tigers sinewy
Lie in wait to strike down stately tuskers.
  The Vedic Brahmins[26] humming-chant rises
Like the chorus of dragonflies round
The opening pollen cups of fragrant flowers
Of cool green tanks ; harpers tune their lyres and play
Marutha songs ; goaders urge tuskers to eat ;
Chariot horses in stalls begin to chew grass ;

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[26] Brahmins whose business is to chant the Vedas.

Bazaar-keepers sweep their booths and spray
Them with cow-dung water;[27] toddy vendors
Loudly tell the prices and hawk the beverage.
When the morning rays of sun dispel darkness
Of night, chaste damsels sleeping in embraces
Loving of their lords, eager for duties
Domestic of day rise betimes, open
The lofty doors guarding their high-walled mansions,
To the jingle of their anklets and bracelets
Flashing like lightning, when the morning echoes
With the confused lisp of men still under
The spell of their night's carouse, with praises
Of minstrels, some standing and some sitting,
And with the bell-toll of time-keepers.
Peal of drums apprises the birth of dawn,
And mingles with the bellowing of bulls in stalls;
The song of pie-bald cock ushers in the dawn;
The hoopoe, the swan and the peacock tune
Their amorous notes calling to their mates;
Tuskers in company of their dames peel loud
Jubilantly; and the roar of tigers,
Bears, and lions immured in cages echoes
In the distant chaste blue heavens of dawn.
When the morning rays of sun put to rout
The darkness of night, ushering in the dawn
With the promise of security, maids
Sweep the mansions littered with arecanuts,
Pearls and gems flaming as flower torn from
Necklaces in the night's amours, and sweep
The sanded gateway buzzing with bees circling round
Fallen flowers of the night's amour.
Tuskers deserted by brazen-shouldered
Warriors in their retreat, horses fleet of foot
Captured from the enemy's country, and herds
Of cattle deserted by fleeing herdsmen through

[27] This custom still obtains in Hindu homes of South India; cow-dung and other products of cow are sacred to Hindus, for example the wine; it is supposed to remove pollution.

Slaughterous flames raised by fierce Vetuwas,[28]
Massive doors of fortresses girdling round
The hill-country, and subsidies of gold
And jewelry offered as homages
By vassel kings flow in volume
Measureless into Madura like waters
Many of the Ganges that empty themselves
Into the sea. Thus in riches greater
Than of the domains of gods shines in glory
Far-famed Madura-town of Pandian king.
Damsels roseate fair as the rays of sun
Setting behind western hills, filtering
Through a grove of asoka[29] trees aflame
With burning-red leaves on a network
Of boughs circled round by humming flatteries of bees—
Damsels decked with jewelry wrought of gold
Purest, set with sparkling colourful gems,
Walking in bewitching peacock-gait casting
Radiant haloes—
Damsels tender of newly-budded
Mango-leaf complexion mantled fair
With golden chloasma in leaf-vein patterns—
Damsels with a fine array of pearl teeth,
With ears beaming with pendants shark-shaped,
And of faces bright as large pollen-filled flowers
Of red lotus of flaming petals that grow
In the sacred tank, and decked with wristlets
Of rare craftsmanship of cunning artists—
In a bed curtained with colourful garlands,
The king rested for the night in the embraces
Fond of such sweet consorts, with his head
Pillowed on their perfumed shoulders round,
And rose betimes for the work of morn,
After amour-satisfied quiescent sleep
Sweet, at the early hours of the dawn.
The king handsome as a statue wrought

[28] A fierce warrior tribe.
[29] (bot) Polyalthia longiflora.

In cunning colours lively and true to life
By cunning artists, and smeared with fragrant paste
Of sandal of adamantine core and decked
Abright with pearl necklace and fair garlands
Of colourful flowers, round which hummed bees,
Gold-banded, their amorous songs, set in state—
  The jewel-set rings on his fingers gleamed,
In tune with the golden hero-anklets;
And his starched diaphanous tunic on shoulders
Broad, hung in straight faultless folds in tune
With pearl-garlands hanging down from his neck.
  Sovereign liege, lord of hosts and princes!
Sitting in state, you welcome those warriors,
Who, like the anicut that stops the fast-rushing
Waters, advancing between two warring hosts,
Have put to flight the surging forces of foes,
To the praise of your fame through victories of sword:
  Those warriors who with mighty bend of bows
Have their arrows against their broad chests borne,
And of shoulders brawny enough to master
Wild horses of mettle and fleet of foot:
  Those warriors rich in heroic deeds who had
Guarded the fortresses girdled by as deep moats
As yawning hill-caverns into which surge
And rush the waters of winter rains:
  Those warriors still covered with raw wounds
Through battling tuskers of war, and who,
To the peal of kettle-drums of mouths stopped with the robe
Of death-dealing bulls, had boldly marched
Into the very thick of battle like forest-fire
To the devastation of enemies:
  Those allies decked with garlands of gold-wrought
Thumbai-flowers, who had flung their arrows
And steel-capped lance-sticks at the enemies.
To their confusion, and who are armoured
In sectional coats-of-mail dull with age,
Over their bodies obvious with ribs,

Like the spokes of wheels, through flesh-lorn wounds of war:
Those who have patched up friendships
Between those, whose prosperous domains broad
Are comparable to the regions of the gods:
Those vassals of smaller domains, who are
Decked with colourful garlands, whose chests deep
Are dry with sandal paste, and who had
Devastated the arrayed forces stately
Of tuskers of war:
Thus welcome princes
And warriors famed through war to enter,
Without hesitation, your lofty palace gates.
Accessible thus, you will be to all,
And welcome the troops of minstrels, singers,
Dancers and trumpeters; and not curious
To know who and whence they are, you with them
Consider as your own kith and kin,
And without their solicitations,
And to the measure of their dear wishes,
Give gifts of lofty chariots decked with lotuses
Wrought in ivory, and tuskers.
In fields far and wide people carouse wild
On sweet toddy; under every tree fat sheep
Are slaughtered, and the fat melts under fire raised
To approach them; and tumult of people stewing
Vegetables of diverse kinds mingles with fumes,
Purple and blue as mist-clouds of winter,
Hissing through the final flavouring
Of dishes over fire in frying pans.
Thus does Madura of lofty mansions jubilate!
May you walk in the path of your forbear,
Lofty Kudumi,[30] famous for raising
Many penance fires, and who shared the bliss
Of heaven with great teachers, who had performed
All austerities as mentioned

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[30] A greatly renowned forbear of the Pandians.

In ancient lore. And you like lofty Vishnu[31]
The lord of all the wealth of the wide world,
Will share all your good things with your peoples.
Filled with greatness matchless, wisdom,
And all other praiseworthy virtues, you will
Bestow precious gifts on the many
Families that live in your large domain,
And elevate them. And filled with deep learning
You will shine amidst your kith and kin
Prosperous like the flaming sun that rises
From the depths of sapphire seas, and like
The full moon amidst her starry host.
And you will, to the deep desire of your heart,
Lead in the straight path of righteousness,
Chieftain kings famed for war; the five-fold men[32]
Great in virtue and wisdom, decked with jewels
Of far-famed gold, of your great assembly;
The Kongan[33] kings famed for smiting with sword
Unfailing, their foes, beginning from Maran,[34]
A chieftain king, famous and decked with flowers
Of gold, who on earth established renown
Fair; and to the blessings of the wise,
Beaming with renown, of the assembly.
When night comes, sleep against the shoulders
Of consorts, decked with beaming jewelry,
After carousing on the well-flavoured mead,
Offered by them in cups of gold.
May thou, lofty king, great in wisdom
Live for the rest of your god-ordained days
Walking in the goodly path of righteousness!

[31] Vishnu, one of the Hindu triad, the preserver; in one of his incarnations he rose to sky-reaching height and hence lofy.
[32] Ministers of the king's assembly (cabinet); ministers, commanders, priests, ambassadors, spies.
[33] Kongan, a country of a chieftain king.
[34] A chieftain king of the line of Pandians.

Tamil Nayanars in Telugu Literature

ATHILAKSHMI

The Nayanars of the Tamil country played an important role in the evolution of Saivism in South India. The word 'Nayanar' denotes a devotee of Saiva. They were sixty-three in number and were drawn from all strata of Hindu Society; the twice-born and the low-born, the kings, warriors and the commoners. They lived approximately between the 5th and the 10th centuries of the Christian Era.

In Telugu they are styled as 'Aruvattumuvvuru Nayanarlu' and are included in the 'Sahasraganamalika' which forms one of the devotional litanies of the Saivites of the Telugụ country. Curiously enough the number 63 corresponds to the Tri-shasti-sataka purushas of Jain tradition embodied in the encyclopaedic work of Hemachandra Suri, the well-known Jaina Samayacharya in his Tri-Shasti-Saṭakapurusha Charitra.

In South India Saivism had to encounter two formidable rivals, Jainism and Buddhism, before it could win its way to popular favour. In the great social upheaval and religious confusion that ensued, it was these Nayanars who stood firm and led the banner of Saivism to victory. The deflection of the popular current towards Saivism was mainly due to the heroic efforts of these devotees. Their burning faith in Siva as the supreme deity was powerful enough to carry conviction even to non-believers. They were by no means ostentatious but were humble, pure in body and mind alike. Their inspiring example moved even kings to embrace the gospel of

Saivism. Thus we see the Pallava King MAHENDRAVARMAN I, who was at first a Jain, becoming an ardent Saivite under the influence of Appar (Tirunavukkarasu or Vāgīsar Nayanar). With the zeal characteristic of a new convert, Mahendravarman caricatured Buddhists and Jains in his Sanskrit burlesque *Mattavilasa-Prahasana*.

These Nayanars, besides being the living embodiment of devotion and sacrifice, were also great poets. Quite a volume of devotional hymns flowed from their hearts providing emotional sustenance for Saivite devotees of later ages. *Tevaram* which consists of the hymns of Appar, Sambandhar, and Sundarar and Manikkavachakar's *Tiruvasakam* form the basis of Saivite devotional literature. All the four were inspired Saints who electrified the country with their songs of devotion and set in motion a wave of Bhakti, which spread throughout the land kindling the light of spiritual aspiration.

Besides these four main Nayanars, Tirumular (the author of *Tirumandiram*), Chiruttondar, Amaraniti and others also played an important role in giving a new stimulus to Saivism.

The stories of the Tamil Nayanars were obviously very popular in South India and had spread into the neighbouring Telugu and Kannada countries. In Telugu Literature we find for the first time references to some of these Nayanars in the *Sivatatwasaramu* of Mallikarjunapandita who lived between 1100-1180 A.D. In Nannechoda's *Kumara Sambhavam*, the earliest Saivite classic in Telugu, we find a reference to Tirunilakanta Nayanar in Canto 5 verse 143[1]. But complete biographies of the Saints are given only by Palkuriki Somanatha, the famous Telugu poet and apostle of Virasaivam (1190-1260 A.D.). In his earlier work, *Basavapūranamu*, Somanatha links some of the stories of the Nayanars with the main story of Basava to prove that 'Devotion tinged with pride is futile' and that 'Bliss is conferred on the truly devoted, without any

consideration of birth or intelligence'. The stories of the Nayanars form the most interesting chapter of the work. Somanatha introduces the story of Sundaramurti Nayañar and in the course of that story narrates briefly the accounts of some other Nayanars. It is in his later great work *Panditaradhyacharitra* (the biography of Mallikarjuna Pandita) that Somanatha enumerates the names of all the sixty-three Nayanars, and deals with the stories of some of them in the *Puratana Prakarana* of that work. The story of Udya Nambi is again narrated at length in the *Mahimaprakarana.*

In this connection it should be noted that the names of some of the Nayanars, as given by Somanatha, differ from those found in the *Periapuranam*, though the themes are the same. Later Telugu poets generally followed Somanatha who first recorded, in Telugu, these stories as current in popular tradition. For instance Nandanar is referred to only as 'Tirumallaprova'. It is a corruption of the Tamil word Tirunalaipovar. Similarly Iyarpagai Nayanar becomes Elpagha, Kōtpuli is changed into Kolpuli, Athipatta and Kalikkamba are known as Adibharta and Kaliyamba. Sambandhar is referred to as Pillai Nayanar and Tirunilakanta is called Potter Gundayya (Kummar Gundayya). There are also changes in the minor details of the stories.

Besides these two main works, we find copious references to the Nayanars in his other Telugu works *Vrishadhipa Satakamu* and *Chaturvedasaramu.* Thus the credit of introducing the themes of these famous Tamil Saints and giving them a permanent place in Telugu Literature goes to Somanatha.

Sivadevayya, otherwise known as Visweswara Siva Desika, the religious preceptor and minister of Kakati Ganapati Deva (1199-1260 A.D.) refers to Sirala, Sundara and Tirunilakanta in his Sataka, *Siva Devadhrimani Sata-*

kamu which is not however now available. The following verse occurs in an anthology :

> " అరయగ పిన్నవాడు సిరియాళుఁడనై యెలప్రాయమందునుం
> దరుఁడను నంబినై పదనుదప్పిన గుండయగారి చందమై
> ధరచరియింప గలిగిన తథాస్తు వృథాపరిపాక రూపదు
> ష్కర జననం బిదేమిటిమి? కాలుపనే శివదేవధీమణీ!

> 'My life would have been fruitful if I had been a Sirivala in boy-hood, Sundara in youth and Gundaya (Tirunilakanta) in old age. If a man has no faith in Siva then this birth is a burden and life is futile.'

In Sarabhankalinga's *Sataka* written about 1300 A.D. we find references to the Nayanars ; this work is available. Ravipati Tirpurantaka, a poet of the post-Kakatiya period, refers to incidents in the lives of the Nayanars in his work *Tripurantakadahanamu.*

Srinadha, one of the famous Telugu poets, in his poetical work *Haravilasamu* deals with the story of Chiruttonda in two aswasas. The story given here is very similar to that found in the *Periapuranam* excluding the military career of the saint as Paranjothi. He links the story of the Dravidian saint with Aryan mythology and says that Tumbura was born on earth as Chiruttonda as the result of a curse by Durvasa reputed for his irritable temper.

Srinadha gives the caste of Chiruttonda as vaisya, whereas in the Tamil work he is referred to as belonging to Mahamatyakula. Palkuriki Somanatha already referred to also styles Chiruttonda as a Vysya and calls him as Siriyala and the son as Sirala. But Srinadha never refers to the father as Siriyala, but invariably as Chiruttonda. Srinadha follows Somanadha in giving the name of Sangalavva to the saint's wife, who is also referred to a Tiruvenganachi. Her name in *Periapuranam* is Tiruvengattu-

nangai. In Telugu Literature, the Nayanar is stated to be from Kanchi and not Sengattangudi, as stated in the Tamil work. In the Kannada works, Siriyala Settina Ragale and Siriyala Settine Vardige, we also find the names Siriyala Setti, Sangalavva and Sirala.

The stories of the Nayanars, however interesting they might be, were viewed only from a religious point of view, till Srinadha gave the story of Chiruttonda Nambi a literary stamp and a classical touch so that his successors, Saivites as well as non-Saivites, hit upon these themes for composing separate Kavyas. Thus came into vogue, a number of works on the well-known Nayanars, the most popular among them being Chiruttonda, about whom, there is a Prabandha by Garikapati Tammayya, a Dwipada by Vanavella Gangadhara, and a Yakshagana by Valekotiah. Harikatha performances narrating the story are also in vogue even to-day. There is a classical drama in Sanskrit by Rakshanadha of Tiruvannamalai which is known as 'Sivabhaktananda Nataka'. Here the proper names are Sanskritised as Dahra Bhakta and Swetavana, Arunapuri, etc. The story of Chiruttonda is popular also in the Maratha country ; a special feast is held in honour of the Saint who is termed as Siriyala Maharaja.

Next comes the story of Sundaramurthi which forms the theme of the well-known *Champu Kavya Odayanambi Vilasamu* by Ajjarapu Perayalinga Kavi. A high class Yakshagana by Ragalinga Nimmanadha is also a work of merit.

The story of Kannappa Nayanar was written by one Kanchiraju Suraya in Champu style, but the work is unfortunately lost. It is known only by a single verse quoted in the anthology, *Prabandha Ratnakaramu Jaggana,* written about 1550 A.D. In *Kalahasti-Mahatmyamu* of Dhurjati, a poet of Krishnadevaraya's Court, the story of Kannappa Nayanar forms the main theme. This work is one

of the famous prabandhas of the golden age of Telugu Literature.

Pillanayanar Charitra, the story of Sambandhar, was the first of its kind written as a separate dwipada kavya by Piduparti Basavana, but the work is not available.

About Tirunilakanta we have an excellent Champu Kavya by name 'Kummar Gundayya Charitra'. It is written by Amalapurapu Sanyasi Kavi of the last century. Curiously, the author belongs to the same caste as that of the saint.

All these poets belong to the Telugu country proper extending up to Ganjam district, now a part of Orissa.

Coming to the 18th century we have two outstanding works relating to Nayanars. One is the prose work known as Sivabhaktavilasamu by Kaluve Nanjaraja of Mysore, the well-known poet and patron of letters. He is a Saivite and a poet in Sanskrit and Kannada also. He is the author of many Telugu classical prose works; Halasyamahatmyamu (the greatness of Halasya Kshetra—Madurai), Kasimahimardhadarpanamu, and Garalapuri Mahatmyam (the importance of Nanjangudu) are some of his prose works that have come down to us. Sivabhaktavilasamu is a voluminous work in 75 adhyayas divided into five cantos. The stories of all the Nayanars are dealt with in this work. The life of Haradatta, the famous Saivacharya, is also included.

The other work is Harabhaktavilasamu by Attaluri Papa Kavi, containing nearly 5000 verses in five cantos. This work stands on a par with the *Periapuranam* in Tamil. Papa Kavi, the author, is known to the literary world as the author of Chenna Basavapuranamu. These two rare works are both complete and are written on cadjan leaves.

It is explicitly stated in the Telugu works that the Nayanars belonged to Dravida desa. For instance, Gundayya is said to belong to the famous place of Kanakasabhai, which is known in the Tamil Nad as Chidambaram.

Nanjaraja's work gives an account of some of the religious customs peculiar to the Tamils, which are interwoven with the stories of the Nayanars, such as the worship of Kumaraswamy. In Andhra, Subrahmanya is mostly represented as a serpent and the concept of a god with two wives is not in vogue. Further we find no temple dedicated to Subrahmanya at present though there is a reference to one such at Chebrolu in the Yuddhamalla's inscription dated 980 A.D. Even Visakhapattinam, which was constructed by Kulottunga Chola I, is stated to have taken its name after the deity of the place—Visakha or Kumara whose temple is now submerged under the sea.

Thus, it will be seen that the lives of the Nayanars attracted the attention of Telugu writers from the 12th century till the present day. They reveal the influence of Tamil tradition on the neighbouring Telugu and Kannada peoples. The culture of the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil speaking peoples had undoubtedly many common features in earlier times, and studies of this nature will, one may hope, strengthen the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between the various linguistic groups inhabiting South India.

Reviews

THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL, Vol. V, 1956

(The D. S. Senanayake Memorial Number)

It is not always easy to form impartial estimates of men and events in living memory. Nevertheless the D. S. Senanayake memorial number of the Ceylon Historical Journal can be deemed to have performed this difficult task admirably, for, the contributors of the various articles are mature and discerning persons who were intimately connected with Mr. D. S. Senanayake. Sir Ivor Jennings, the former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon writes on the services rendered by D. S. Senanayake in the struggle for independence as well as in the consolidation of Free Ceylon as her first Prime Minister. Mr. R. L. Brohier describes Mr. Senanayake's contribution as the Minister of Agriculture to the development of irrigation and other facilities intended to promote the lot of the peasant. His foreign policy which aimed at peace and co-operation with the Democracies of the world and with the Commonwealth countries are described by the Hon. Jayavardena, while his interest in University education and his contribution to the development of a residential University in the Kandi district are stressed in a brief article by Sir Charles Attygale, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon. An insight into the circumstances which led to the appointment of the Soulbury Commission, the complexity of the problems which it had to face and the admirable role played by Mr. Senanayake in their solution are furnished by Sir Frederick Rees, member of the Ceylon Commission on Constitutional Reform, 1944, while the qualities of Mr. Senanayake, the man, are vividly portrayed by Viscount Soulbury, the Governor-General of Ceylon,

who pays a glorious tribute to him when he writes that but for Senanayake the history of Ceylon would have been unfortunately different. A far-sighted statesman, Mr. Senanayake rose above petty differences and narrow prejudices. The welfare of his country was his sole concern. He recognized the legitimate place to which the Tamils of Ceylon were entitled and was not guilty of wilful persecution. This is clearly shown by Sir F. Rees in his article.

The Journal reproduces several photographs of Mr. Senanayake and the public speeches made by him. The tributes paid to him by the outstanding public men of the world are also incorporated.

K. K. PILLAY

ARCHITECTURAL AND SCULPTURAL MONUMENTS OF INDIA

This map, illustrating the cultural heritage of India in the shape of the Architectural and Sculptural Monuments of old, has been prepared with care. Though not the first of its kind, it belongs to a novel series designed to interest the lay public as well as the discerning specialist. It is perhaps easy to point out that certain prominent monuments like those of Tiruvannamalai, Tanjore or Suchindram should also have figured in the map, but it is well to remember the limitations of space. The map does not by any means profess to be exhaustive; rather it is representative of the different parts of the huge country. The design, the colour scheme, the indication of the approximate dates of the different periods in Indian Art as well as the brief descriptions of the monuments are good. However, some dates given are rather vague and misleading, as for example, those pertaining to the temples of Chidambaram (A.D. 500 to 1700) and Rameswaram—18th century A.D.

K. K. PILLAY

News and Notes

Madras State becomes Unilingual State

Under the State Re-organization Act, 1956, Madras State has become a Unilingual (Tamil) State.

Tamil becomes the Official Language of the Madras State

Following the State Re-organization the Madras Legislature passed an important piece of legislation—a bill to provide for the adoption of Tamil as a language to be used for the official purpose of the State of Madras.

* * * *

The Madras Assembly to-day (27-12-56) adopted unanimously the Official Language Bill, making Tamil the language of administration in the State.

* * * *

Mr. C. Subramaniam, who was lustily cheered on rising to move the Bill for being taken into consideration at once, said that this was a significant step forward in their march towards progress. However a mere declaration of Tamil as official language would not bring about all that they wanted immediately. It had been the desire of the general public, legislators and State Government that all official business should be transacted in Tamil in this State as early as possible.

* * * *

"I am immensely pleased" concluded the Minister amidst applause, " that in this joyous task I have the undivided and unanimous approbation of all the members and let this be our last act of crowning glory to our mother-tongue."

* * * *

The entire discussion on the Bill was in Tamil and even members who had never before attempted to speak in Tamil took to it to-day befitting the pleasant and happy atmosphere.

The Deputy Speaker made history by using Tamil to put the motions to the vote of the House at every stage of adoption of the Bill.

* * * *

Later moving for the adoption of the Bill, the Minister said: "May I on behalf of the Assembly, Government and the people of Tamil Nad dedicate this piece of legislation to Tamil Mother? To-day I breathe the free air of Tamil and I deem it a special honour that I am privileged to pilot this Bill. The special honour has come in my way not because of my worth but because of the penance of my forefathers. Many are there who are eminently fitted to have this honour—those who had dedicated their lives to the Tamil language and Tamil cause.

"IF ONLY THE LONG LINE OF TAMIL SCHOLARS WERE TO COME BACK TO LIFE AND BE HERE THEY WOULD REJOICE AND SHOWER THEIR CHOICEST BLESSINGS ON US. I CANNOT DO BETTER THAN END MY SPEECH AND CLOSE THE BUSINESS OF THE PRESENT ASSEMBLY WITH THE FOLLOWING VERSES OF POET BHARATHI:

"VAZHGA SENTHAMIZH VAZHGA NATRAMIZHAR VAZHGA BHARATHA MANI THIRUNADU"

He then gave the call for Three Cheers to Tamil.

—*Indian Express.*

* * * *

Glossary of Administrative Terms in Tamil

A glossary of administrative terms in Tamil prepared by a Committee set up by the Madras Presidency Tamil Sangham and finalized by a Committee of senior Government Officials and non-officials with Mr. S. Venkatesan, I.C.S., as Chairman was handed over to the Chief Minister Sri K. Kamaraj on 21st December 1956 at a function held at Rajaji Hall presided over by Sri T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University. —*Madras Information.*

* * * *

Czechoslavak Delegation's visit to Madras City

A fifteen member Czechoslavakian Delegation of eminent people in the field of science, art and humanities headed by Dr. Karol Bedrna, First Deputy Minister for Education and Culture, Government of Czechoslavakia paid a five-day visit to Madras in the last week of December. The delegation met at the residence of the Vice-President, Mr. A. Subbiah and had an interesting discussion.

* * * *

Doctor of Literature for Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai

The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred on Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai, B.A., B.L., Head of the Tamil Department of the University of Madras during its centenary celebrations. In presenting Professor Sethu Pillai to the Chancellor for the confernment of the Degree the Vice-Chancellor Dr. A. L. Mudaliar made the following citation :—

"Here we have a great scholar in Tamil, one whose erudition has been acknowledged by eminent authorities. Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai is the first Professor of Tamil in the University of Madras and is the author of many valuable publications. His great literary gifts received appropriate recognition by the Presidential award bestowed on him. In South India, his scholarship has been greatly appreciated. We, in the University, regard him as a great savant in Tamil literature.

Mr. Chancellor, I present to you Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai who has been unanimously recommended by the Syndicate and the Senate of the University as a fit and proper person, by reason of his eminent position and attainments to receive the Degree of Doctor of Literature (*Honoris Causa*) to which I pray that he may be admitted."

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(,, calm)
இ	—	i	(,, sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(,, machine)
உ	—	u	(,, full)
ஊ	—	u:	(,, rule)
எ	—	e	(,, fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(,, able)
ஐ	—	ai	(,, aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(,, opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(,, opium)
ஔ	—	au	(,, now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(,, church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(,, card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	த	—	th	(,, threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(,, pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(,, atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex-articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(,, sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(,, angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(,, urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(,, anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(,, mate)
	ன	—	n	(,, enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(,, yard)
	ர	—	r	(,, red)
	ல	—	l	(,, leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(,, very)
	ழ	—	l-	(,, ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(,, hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	∴	—	x	(,, ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant*.

   e.g., பக்கம் – is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

   e.g., பங்கம் – is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் – „ panjam, not pancam,

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant*.

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t: which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil = Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants						Soft consonants						Medium consonants					
		k	c	t:	th	p	t	ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	y	r	l	v	ḻ	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	ற	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஆ a:	ா to the right of the consonant	கா					றா			ணா			னா						
இ i	ி to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ீ to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கீ																	
உ u	a semi-circle ( ), a vertical stroke ı or a loop to be *joined* to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	று	ஙு	ஞு	ணு	நு	மு	னு	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழு	ளு
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	றூ	ஙூ	ஞூ	ணூ	நூ	மூ	னூ	யூ	ரூ	லூ	வூ	ழூ	ளூ
எ e	ெ to the left of the consonant	கெ																	
ஏ e:	ே to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ை to the left of the consonant	கை								ணை			னை			லை			ளை
ஒ o	ெ to the left & ா to the right of the consonant	கொ					றொ			ணொ			னொ						
ஓ o:	ே to the left & ா to the right	கோ					றோ			ணோ			னோ						
ஔ au	ெ to the left & ள to the right	கௌ																	
மெய் pure consonants	A dot · on the top of the consonant	க்																	

Note.—(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel அ (a) has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under க (k) are shown as a guide; in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under க (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.

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Commemoration Numbers

This year is important being the centenary year of two outstanding events in India, which have a special significance for Tamilians, *viz.*, the publication of the first Indian Comparative Grammar and the establishment of the Universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

The credit for making a comprehensive study of any Indian group of languages and publishing a scholarly work on it for the first time goes to Dr. Robert Caldwell. To him also goes the credit for establishing beyond doubt that the Dravidian languages form a distinct family; at his time, to quote his own words, "it was supposed by the Sanskrit Pandits (by whom everything with which they were acquainted was referred to a Brahmanical origin), and too hastily taken for granted by the earlier European Scholars, that the Dravidian languages, though differing in many particulars from the North Indian idioms, were equally with them derived from the Sanskrit". Though the Science of linguistics, which was in its infancy a century ago, has made great advances during this period and though many facts unknown to Dr. Caldwell have since come to light invalidating some of his findings, his broad conclusions remain unchallenged and his work *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* is still the only one of its kind. The world of linguists in general, and Tamilians in particular owe a deep debt to him and, in commemoration of the centenary of the publication of his classic work, the Academy of Tamil Culture has decided to publish the ensuing October issue of *Tamil Culture* as Dr. Caldwell's Centenary Commemoration issue.

Although Bombay and Calcutta share with Madras the centenary celebration of the establishment of the first modern universities in India, Tamilians have special cause

to rejoice in that a Tamil linguistic scholar has, for the first time, been bracketed with men of international repute who have distinguished themselves in various walks of life, both Indian and Foreign. This is undoubtedly a great personal tribute to Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, who was the recipient of the honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature at the Centenary Celebrations of the University of Madras but it is also a recognition by the University of the important position which Tamil is entitled to occupy in the sphere of University education, which position was only grudgingly, if at all, conceded in the past. The Academy has decided to publish the July issue of *Tamil Culture* as Professor Sethu Pillai Doctorate Commemoration number.

Scholars are invited to contribute articles for both these Commemoration numbers. Contributions for the July issue should reach us before 31st July and those for the October issue before 31st October.

—EDITOR.

Verbal Noun in Early Old Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

Says J. Bloch in his *Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages*, p. 59 : "It therefore seems in the end that the flexional system of the pronominal type had developed secondarily. It follows the usage of the verbal nouns capable of pronominal subjects in the nominative."[1]

Prof. Bloch himself quotes some examples of this use, found in the old Tamil poetry, e.g. *யான் பிறக்கு* "I shall be born", or வரற்கே "I will come", காண்கு வந்து "I shall see having come"—*ibid.* The possible way of development of pronominal verbal flexion from the use of verbal nouns has been shown in a short study in *Archiv Orientalni*, XXIII, pp. 479-81. The object of this article is to show the importance and the different syntactic functions of verbal nouns as found in an Early Old Tamil text, the anthology நற்றிணை 'abbreviated NT'. I shall proceed from the clear cases to those which are more complicated and questionable.

Verbal nouns தொழிற் பெயர் of both tenses[2] are used as subjects of action or state, cf. இல்லிடத்து இற்செறிந்திருத்தல்

[1] Quoted according to the English translation (of the French original) by R. G. Harshé, Poona, 1954.

[2] Are the future and past tenses of Early Old Tamil true tenses? I am rather inclined to think that, in Old Tamil, the primary and important and maybe original division was not that of true tenses (aorist-future and past) but that of aspects: the verb had, originally, two themes: one for complete action, the other for incomplete action. The instances in Early Old Tamil texts shown clearly that the so called 'future tense' is used for every form of aoristic, incomplete, imperfective or non-temporal action taking place in every temporal sphere (in present, past or future), whereas the so called 'past tense' is used for every form of complete, perfective, momentaneous action (even if taking part, let us say, in the future). Due attention will be paid to this problem in a study dealing with Early Old Tamil syntax as a system.

அறனும் அன்றே lit. "after having lived closed inside in the house—*the stay* is verily not a virtue" (NT 68, 2-3).

Very often, the verbal nouns are found in attributive position, as determinants, cf. அழுங்கல ஊர் "the uproaring village" (NT 63, 5); செய்ம்ம்மேவல் சிறுகட்பன்றி "the hog with small eyes, feeding on a cornfield" (ib. 48,2); புறந் தாழ்பு இருளிய ... குரல் 'the dark hair, hanging on the back" (ib. 96, 5, lit. the back—the hanging—darkened . . . hair). In these instances, only the position (determinans preceding determinatum), or, if we want, the taxeme of order, determines the syntactic function; in other cases, the attributive suffix— இன் is employed, cf. பறவை . . மொய்த் தலின் கண் "the eye/determined by/the swarming . . of bees" (NT 55, 5-6).

Still more often, we find the verbal nouns in the function of object, cf. செய்பறியலரே (செய்பு + ...) "he does not know the deed" (NT 1, 10); there are some very interesting cases to be noted in this connection—the so-called inner object, where the noun (or, in our special case, the verbal noun) as object is actually in the role of a close determinant of the verb; the noun may be either of the same base, or of the same or very near meaning[3], cf. இயங்கல் செல்லாது . . . குழவி "the child (sc. of the elephant) not going the walking", i.e. "not knowing how to walk" (NT 47, 2, figura synonymica).

In two spheres of Old Tamil syntax, the verbal nouns had been used most extensively and they had formed very important means to express syntactic relationship.

1. The verbal nouns of the base[4] ஆ —"to become" were used with the morpheme -இன் (originally maybe the

[3] There are some remarkable cases of this inner subject in the form of the "figure etymologica' found in NT, cf. நூழை நுழையும் பொழுதில் "when it enters the small hole" (NT 98, 4)-there is one common etymon used; or வாவல்...தூங்கு துயில் பொழுதின் "at the time when the bat .... sleeps (its) sleep".

[4] As far as the terms base, root and stem are concerned; I am inclined to use the term base (or, more in detail, "base conveying the

morpheme of adnominal relation, also the attributive suffix) to express adverbial locution of conclusion : நின்...தோள் எய்தினம் ஆகலின்...வருந்தாதேகு மதி "We have reached thy shoulders, therefore without grief, go thou." (NT 9. and ib. 56, 7) : அருளான் ஆதலின் அழிந்திவண் வந்து "He was not gracious ; therefore, having been afflicted (and) having come here . . . " etc.

2. Also, the final dative of verbal nouns was used to express purpose : நாம் செல்லற்கேமதி வலவ தேரே (NT 21, 4-5) ; "O charioteer, for our going (i.e. for the sake of it) let the chariot go : " or சிவந்த நின் மெல்லடி உயற்கே . . . ஏகு மதி (ib. 76) "to escape thy red small feet . . . go thou."

All these cases are more or less clear. Difficulty arises when we investigate into the use of verbal nouns in the function of predicate.

We must distinguish between some cases which seem at least to be evidently clear, where the use of verbal nouns in predicative function is attested also by similar use of verbal nouns in New Tamil (a), and cases which are more problematic and complicated and where the opinion of scholars differs (b).

(a) Let us examine the instance from NT 53, 3 என் கொல் தோழி அன்னை கண்ணியது "What, o friend, has mother thought ?" With this cf. the New Tamil example quoted by Beythan, *Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache*, p. 114 எங்கே உட்காருவது ? "Wo ist das niedersetzen ?" — "Wo soll man sich niedersetzen ?" Or, a very similar case : நீயும் நானும் . . . கானல் ஆடியது அன்றிக்கரந்து நாம் செய்ததொன்று இல்லை (NT 27) ; and with this, cf. the

meaning") for the basal (or most basic) form of a word, be it a noun or a verb, a pronoun or an adjective ; the root is the basal form of the verb, let us say, செய் — "to do" ; the stem is the root plus temporal or causative or any other morphemes : e.g. செய்கு — is the present, செய்து the past stem of the root செய் — ; மழுக்கு — "to blunt" is the transitive stem of the base (or root) மழு-*கு ; மழுங்கு — "to become blunted, to be dull" is the intransitive stem of the same root etc.

regular New Tamil negative construction like நான் கண்டதில்லை.

Now, these cases are, at first sight, clear enough. But they may still be interpreted in two different ways: 1. as nominal sentences: the verbal noun (கண்ணியது, உட்காருவது etc.) is not, in this case, to be analysed as predicate, but as subject; the predicate, viz. verbum existentiae, is not actually expressed; the 'subject' (அன்னை, நான், நாம்) is not true subject at all, but it is in attributive relation to the verbal noun -result: a nominal sentence, rendered literally (NT 53, 3) "What, a friend, the mother's thought—thing" or "What—scil. was—the things—thought by—the mother?"

This interpretation, however, does not much agree with the fact that this 'attribute' is, often, in the active 'nominative' case, cf. நினக்கு யான் மறைத்தல் யாவது ? 'to thee—I—the having been concealed—what?" (NT 72, 4), i.e. "What have I hidden from thee?" This instructive example supports rather the second explanation which also seems to me to be the right one, that the quoted instances are not nominal sentences but, that the predicate is, truly, expressed by the verbal noun (e.g. (மறைத்தல்), capable of pronominal (and substantival) subject in the nominative (active) case, without any question of attributive relation. The symbolic structure of the last quoted example (NT 72, 4) would be

$$O^2 \quad S \quad P \quad O^1$$

(Indirect Object in dative—Subject in Nominative—Predicate, verbal noun—Direct Object).

(b) There is a much disputed verbal form in Old Tamil, namely the form with the suffix — al, appearing in the 1st p. sg. aorist-future, cf. சென்று நின் மனையோட்கு உரைப்பல் (100, 6-7) "(I) shall go (and) say (it) to thy wife." But—is there actually any real difference between the verbal noun மறைத்தல் (72, 4) and this 'finite' verbal form? I venture to suggest that the suffix — al even in these aorist-

future formations of 1st p. sg. is nothing else than the suffix of verbal nouns, that actually, the 'finite' forms ending in —al are no 'finite' forms but verbal nouns capable of subjects in nominative, verbal noun in the predicative function.

And, similarly, the disputed suffix — ku in such forms as நோகோ யானே (NT 26, 1) "I have pain", எவன் செய்கோ (ib. 30, 1) "What shall I do?" These cases are either verbal stems used predicatively, or, which is perhaps more probable, verbal nouns, capable of pronominal subjects in nominative. The suffix — கு is given by ancient grammarians as one of the suffixes constituting the தொழிற் பெயர் and it can be actually found as the morpheme of verbal nouns—cf. போக்கு 'going, departure' from போ- and, to return to Bloch's instance, பிறக்கு 'birth', etc. from பிற.

The Problem of the Age of Kamban *(Continued)*

The Theory of the 9th Century

A. C. PAUL NADAR

(A) The sheet anchor of the champions of the 9th century is a stray stanza referred to in III above beginning with எண்ணிய சகாத்தம் எண்ணூற்றேழின் மேல் found in all manuscripts except the one which was in the possession of Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai. It is certainly found in all the printed editions of *Kamba Ramayanam* in the prefatory portion. V.V.S. Iyer, T.K.C. and others interpret the Saka year referred to in the stanza as 807 corresponding to 895 A.D. This is objected to by Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai for the following among other grounds :—

(a) This date of 885 A.D. would chronologically make Kamban earlier than Alwars such as Thirumangai Alwar and Nammalwar to whom Kambar is alleged to be indebted for idioms, expressions and incidents. (Vide *Kamban Kaviyam*, pp. 143).

(b) The Saka era referred to in the stanza was not in vogue in the Tamilnad until about the end of the 10th century. Hence the stanza in question must have been only a later fabrication. (Vide *Kamban Kaviyam*, pp. 146-147)

(c) The word 'Arangetral' mentioned in this stanza was originally a technical term and applied to the first performance of a danseuse in the august presence of the king and his assembly. It was never applied in those days to any literary exposition. Hence the stanza must be a fabrication of a later age. (Vide *Kamban Kaviyam*, p. 148)

(d) The reference to 'Kamba Nadan' in the stanza shows that the stanza must have been fabricated sometime after the first use of that word by Arasakesari, the author of *Raghuvamsam* in Tamil, sometime in the 16th century. (Vide pp. 148 & 149 of *Kamban Kaviyam*)

(e) This stanza is not found in the manuscript in the possession of Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai alleged to have been dated "Kollam Andu" 753 corresponding to 1578. Hence that stanza must have come into existence after that manuscript. (Vide *Kamban Kaviyam*, p. 143)

(f) It is a well established fact that Kamban has adopted expressions, ideas and metrical forms of vritham from *Jeevaka Chintamani* of Thiruthakka Thevar belonging to the early part of the 10th century. The acceptance of the stanza will antedate Kamban to Thiruthakka Thevar. Hence it cannot be genuine. (*Tamil Sudarmanigal*, pp. 119—120)

(g) *Kamba Ramayanam* is the product of the Bakthi movement initiated and inspired by the Alwars and Vaishnava Acharyas. The movement was canalised in the story of Rama in the time of Ramanuja (1017-1137 A.D.). Hence we should look for Kamban only after Ramanuja. (Vide *Tamil Sudarmanigal*, pp. 114—115)

The editors of Annamalai University Silver Jubilee Publication of *Sundarakantam* also reject the stanza on grounds mentioned in (d) and (f) above. In addition to *Jeevaka Chintamani* in (f) they add *Chulamani* of Tholamoli Thevar to whom Kamban was according to them indebted for his rhythm.

We now consider the objections in the order given above.

(a) The date assigned to Kamban in the stanza namely 885 A.D. is really later than the times of Thiru-

mangai Alwar and Nammalwar. According to M. Srinivasa Iyengar claimed by Vaiyapuri Pillai to be his authority, Thirumangai Alwar lived in the 8th century. To be exact he must have flourished between 680 and 760 A.D. (vide his *Tamil Studies-First Series,* p. 320). No doubt M. Srinivasa Iyengar came to the conclusion in his studies that Nammalwar must have lived about the beginning of the 10th century. He published his *Tamil Studies* in 1914. Later on, in 1919 T. A. Gopinatha Rao reviewed all the authorities available upto that time including M. Srinivasa Iyengar's work and came to the conclusion that Nammalwar must have lived in the first half of the 9th century. This has received additional support from L. D. Swamikannu Pillai who placed the birth of Nammalwar at 798 A.D. from the astronomical data furnished by Guruparamparai (vide Gopinatha Rao's *The Age of Alwars* Madras University Publication p. 21). Hence no question of making Kamban chronologically earlier than Thirumangai Alwar and Nammalwar arises at all.

(b) As for the use of 'Saka era' in Tamilnad, there is irrefutable evidence to show that it was in vogue at the earliest in the 5th century A.D.

(1) The Jain work *Loka Vibhaga* was copied by one Sivanandi at Patalika (Tirupappuliyoor) and the year of making the copy is given as the Saka year 380 corresponding to 458 A.D. (vide Pandarathar's *History of Tamil Literature* 250—600 A.D.) 1955 Publication of Annamalai University.

(2) Reference may next be made to Gadval Plates (M.A.R. Copper Plate No. 3 of 1903-1910—The Western Chalukya—Vikramaditya I (655-688) mentions his conquest of Kanchi and encampment at Uragapura Tiruchirapalli). They are dated the Saka year 595 corresponding to 674 A.D. (*Epi. Indica,* Vol. X—page 101)

(3) The Aihole inscription of Western Chalukya, King Pulikesin II (609-642) regarding his conquest of

Kanchi makes reference to the Saka year 556 corresponding to 634 A.D. (*Epi.—Indica*, Vol. IV—p. 6)

(4) The Aivarmalai inscription belonging to the 8th regnal year of the Pandyan Varaguna (862-880) A.D. refers to the Saka year 792 coresponding to 870 A.D. (vide *Epi.—Indica*, Vol. XVIII—p. 295)

It may be noted that (1) is a case of literature and is found in South Arcot District, that (2) and (3) are cases of foreign rulers making reference in Tamilnad to their conquests at the time of their stay therein and that No. (4) is a case of inscription found in the heart of the Pandyan country in Madurai District using both the regnal year of the King as well as the Saka year.

Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai accepts (1) as a Colophon in *Loka Vibhaga*, a Jain treatise in Prakrit without any comment. He considers (2) and (3) as not relevant. He thinks the last one is significant and relevant. He has made two comments, which are contradictory of each other.

Comment on Page 83 of Kamban Kaviyam

" சகாப்தம் தமிழ் நாட்டில் 8ம் நூற்றுண்டளவிலேதான் வழங்கத் தொடங்கியது. இவ்வாறு வழங்கத் தொடங்கிச் சில நூற்றுண்டுகள் சென்ற பின்னரே அது பொது மக்களால் வழங்கப்பட்டு காவியங் களில் குறிக்கப்பட்டிருத்தல் கூடும்.

இங்ஙனம் கொள்வது பெரும்பா லும் உண்மையாதல் சாலும்.

Comment on Page 147 of the same

" From a study of these inscriptions we are compelled to hold that the Jains were the first to introduce the exotic Saka era in the South. For, they came originally from North India where this era was founded and spread gradually in the South with their great learning.

The rulers of Kannada country where Jainism was predominent, adopted first

எனவே சகாப்த வழக்கு கி. பி. 885ல் (9வது நூற்றாண்டு இறுதியில்) தமிழ் நூல்களில் காணப்படுதல் அசம்பாவிதமாம்."

this system of chronology in C. 600 A.D. About 800 A.D. the Aivarmalai inscription was recorded. A century must have elapsed before it found favour with the Tamil Kings, and was introduced by them in their inscriptions. Most probably it came into general vogue about the end of the 10th century A.D."

It may be noted that the first comment assumes that the inscription is a royal act, while the other assumes that it is a transaction of the people. It is sheer speculation that, whether it is a people's transaction or royal act, it would take a century or two for the adoption of the Saka by the other. But, as a matter of fact, Aivarmalai inscription records the renewal of the images of Parsva Bhatarar and Yakshies at Aivarmalai near Palani. It is really a private transaction by the Jain community. The Jains were not only predominent in Kannada country but also in Tamilnad at least from the middle of the 3rd century. (Vide Pandarathar's *History of Tamil Literature* 250-600 A.D., pages 15—28 and *Samanamum—Kongu Nadum* by C. M. Ramachandran Chettiar). Even after their discomfiture at the hands of Sambandar in the middle of the 7th century at Madurai, they seem to have been so influential as to induce subsequent Pandya rulers to lavishly endow their pallis. (Vide K. A. N. Sastry's *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 95). Hence the objection regarding the Saka era fails.

(c) As for the use of the word "Arangetral" Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai contends that originally it was applied only to the first performance of the "Danseuse" and that it continued to be so restricted until the 14th century. He admits, however, the fact and practice of the presentation of literary works before learned bodies from the days

of Tholkappiyam. The reference to the presentation of the various works relied on by him are the following :—

" நிலந்தரு திருவிற் பாண்டிய னவையத்து
அறங்கரை நாவின் நான்மறை முற்றிய
அதங்கோட் டாசாற்கு அரில்தபத் தெரிந்து
மயங்கா மரபின் எழுத்துமுறை காட்டி "

—தொல்காப்பியம் (பாயிரம்)

" உரைசா லடிகள் அருள மதுரைக்
கூல வாணிகன் சாத்தன் கேட்டனன் "

—சிலப்பதிகாரம்

" இளங்கோ வேந்தன் அருளிக் கேட்ப
வளங்கெழு கூல வாணிகன் சாத்தன்......
அறிய வைத்தனன்."

—மணிமேகலை

" தேனூற நின்று தெருண்டாரவை செப்பலுற்றேன் "

—சீவகசிந்தாமணி

" தேமாலை அலங்கல் திருமால் நெடுஞ்சேந்தன் என்னும்
கோமான் அவையுள் தெருண்டார் கொளப்பட்ட தன்றே "

—சூளாமணி

Kamban Kaviyam, p. 83 and 84.

The word " Arangetral " is not used in the texts cited above, though the practice is vouched for. But we know that the Tamil Sangam at Madurai was constituted for the submission of literary works to its judgement. Whatever we may say about the first two Sangams, the third Sangam was a historical fact. It functioned until about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. (vide pp. 10 to 14 of Pandarathar's *History of Tamil literature* 250-600 A.D.)

Appar Swamigal refers to the existence of the Sangam in one of his Pathihams as follows :—

நன்பாட்டுப் புலவனாய்ச் சங்க மேறி
நற்கனகக் கிழிதருமிக் கருளி னோன்காண்

—(திருப்புத்தூர்–தாண்டகம்)

He belongs to the middle of the 7th Century A.D. The commentary on *Irainar Ahaporul* which cannot be later than the 8th century speaks of " தலைச் சங்கத்தில் கவி யரங்கேறினர் எழுவர் பாண்டிய ரென்ப......இடைச் சங்கத்தில் கவியரங்கேறினர் மூவர் பாண்டிய ரென்ப " vide *Irainar Ahaporul*—Bhavanandar Kazhagam Edition, pp. 6 & 7). These facts are mentioned in the famous commentary of Adiarku Nallar on *Chilappathikaram* (p. 197 of Swaminatha Iyer's Edition in *Venil Kathai*—First Edition). The words used in the stanza in question are " கண்ணிய அரங்கர் முன்னே கவியரங்கேற்றினனே " instead of the simple word " Arangetral " அரங்கேற்றல் we have got கவி அரங்கேற்றல். It is therefore idle to contend that the expression "Arangetral" was never applied to the presentation of literary works in the relevant period.

(d) As for the use of the word ' Kamba Nadan ' in the stanza in question Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai says that there was never a district known as Kamba Nadu at all, that when the unrivalled genius of the poet became a recognised fact, the secular followers styled him ' Kamba Nadan ' creating for him an imaginary Nadu, which he could rule over, that, as a matter of fact, Kamba Nadu was first used in a stanza of Arasakesari (1478-1519), the author of *Raghuvamsa* in Tamil and that therefore the stanza must be a fabrication of the 16th century (vide *Kamban Kaviyam*, p. 149). As stated before under VIII, he himself relies on what he considers as a stanza made on the occasion of the presentation of *Kamba Ramayanam* to the public, it describes the poet not only as Kamba Nadan but also as Kavi Chakravarthi (*Kamban Kaviyam*, p. 127). If there be any truth in it, that at least takes us to the 12th century according to his own showing. Another stanza attributed to Vanian Thatan in *Tamil Navalar Sarithai* refers to ' Kamba Nadan '. " கைம்மணிச் சீரன்றிச் சீரறியாக் கம்ப நாடன்." According to tradition, Vanian Thatan was a contemporary of Kamban and was reputed to be the author of Uthara Kanda.

It is interesting to note that Prof. K. A. N. Sastri accepts

the reality of the 'Kamba Nadu' as a fief granted to the poet by the contemporary Chola King even after he adopts the views of Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai in the matter of the date of Kamban. (Vide p. 671 his *Colas* 1955 Edition).

According to the traditional accounts, even the very name of Kamban was at one time considered novel and enquiry was directed about its origin and meaning. Fanciful stories were invented to account for the etymological meaning of Kamban such as "the boy with the stick" (Kambu) or the foundling deserted near the flag-staff of a temple (Kamban). Now, epigraphy discloses such names as கம்பன் அரையன் a chieftain of the Pallava Kingdom, at the end of the 8th century and the beginning of 9th century; கம்ப வர்மன் a petty ruler said to be the brother of the last Pallava King at the end of the 9th century, கம்ப மணியன் commandant of Raja Raja the Great (985-1013 A.D.) and கம்பன் an officer under the same king (vide Annamalai University Silver Jubilee edition *Sundara Kandam* Introduction, p. VI and VII.) அரையன், அரசன், நாடன் mean a ruler; மணியன் means a village officer. Under such circumstances there is nothing strange about the name 'Kamba Nadan' in the 9th century.

(e) As for the omission of the stanza in question in a manuscript copy of the Andu 753 Kollam Era (corresponding to 1578 A.D.) in the possession of Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai, it does not appear from which this copy was made. The manuscript has to be thoroughly examined as to its value, in the light of other documents. After all, an argument based on omission is not a serious one in a land where there is no sense of historical value or literary purity. It is well known that additions and subtractions have been made to the text from time to time. One Velliambala Thambiran is alleged to have introduced his own verses in the text. Innumerable readings of the text suggest that copyists meddled with the text or were not accurate in copying. In this state of affairs, the omission of the stray stanza need

not be taken very seriously unless we have got other substantial evidence.

(f) The question of fixing the date of Thiruthakka Thevar, the author of *Chintamani,* is not an easy one. It is as difficult to determine as, if not more than, the date of Kamban. There is absolutely nothing in the text of *Chintamani* to enable us to fix his time. The Jain tradition is persistent that he was connected with the scholars of Mathurai Tamil Sangam, who were alleged to have been the instrument of making him sing sweetly of the pleasures of the life of senses. Hence, *Chintamani* was a new venture in Jain literary productions, contrary to their ascetic ideal. (Vide the life of Thiruthakka Thevar in Swaminatha Iyer's *Chintamani*). If there be any truth in it, he must be connected with the 3rd Tamil Sangam which cannot be later than the middle of the 3rd century as stated before. No scholar is however inclined to accept this date for *Chintamani*. A fourth Sangam seems to have functioned sometime in the 7th and 8th century, though not so influential as the 3rd Sangam (vide M. Srinivasa Iyengar's *Tamil Studies* 1st series p. 254). According to Pandarathar, a Tamil Sangam functioned earlier in the 5th century under the auspices of the Jains. (Vide Pandarathar's *History of Tamil Literature* 250—600, p. 46.)

Narivirutham is said to be a minor work of Thiruthakka Thevar. The learned editor of the poem, Sri M. Raghavaiyangar, has no doubt that it is the genuine production of Thevar, as it has the ring of *Chintamani*. The Jain tradition supports it. Appar Swamigal refers to *Narivirutham* in one of his pasurams. (*Adipurana Tirukurunthokai*) Sri M. Raghavaiyangar is of opinion that the reference by Appar Swamigal is to Thevar's *Narivirutham* and none other. If so, Thevar must belong to the period earlier than the middle of the 7th century to which Appar belongs. In that case Thevar may belong to the 4th Sangam of M. Srinivasaiyangar or the Jain Sangam of Pandarathar.

The astronomical data given for the time of marriage of Jeevakan with Gandarva Dathayar yield 813 A.D. as the date of the wedding. If this date and the event be accepted, the composition of *Chintamani* cannot be earlier than 813 A.D. But the infirmity about this data is that it is of a cyclic nature and is likely to answer to a later or an earlier date. Whether, Thevar composed his *Chintamani* in the 5th, in the 7th or in the early part of the 9th century, he was earlier than Kamban envisaged in the stanza in question. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, M. Srinivasa Iyengar and T. A. Gopinatha Rao fixed the age of Thiruthakka Thevar at about 900 A.D. In that case, Thiruthakka Thevar must have been a contemporary of Kamban in the light of the same stanza in question.

Thiruthakka Thevar does not give any indication as to the source of his poem. It appears that there had been several accounts of Jeevaka in Sanskrit before the composition of *Chintamani*, when once the story was invented, it must have grown by receiving additions in course of time at the hands of the Jain expositors. Apart from Sanskrit works, there must have been oral traditional accounts in the various regions where Jainism prevailed. The question is what was the source for the author of *Chintamani*? From an inscription, it appears that Jain sage Gunabhadra composed *Uttarapurana* containing the story of Jeevaka in Sanskrit in the reign of Rashtrakuta ruler Krishna II known also as Akalävarsha in the Saka year 820 (corresponding to 898 A.D.). According to some scholars *Chintamani* is based on *Uttarapurana*; others think *Ksathrachudamani* of Vadibhasimha, itself based on the *Uttarapurana* of Gunabhadra is the source for *Chintamani*. If this inference be correct, *Chintamani* must be later than 898 A.D. This is the sheet anchor of those who assert that *Chintamani* belongs to the 10th century. The difficulty is that the comparison of the various books and the traditions dealing with Jeevaka cannot be considered exhaustive. Mere similarities in such Puranic stories are not sufficient. In

the absence of a thorough investigation, it is not conclusive to adopt a date later than 898 A.D. as a definite land mark to fix the age of Thiruthakka Thevar. The author of *Chintamani* seems to have been held in the highest esteem in the world of Jainism (vide the famous inscription at Sravana Belgola—*Ep. Indica* Vol. III, p. 190-1.) It is significant that Thevar does not refer to the great author Gunabhadra so well known for his sanctity and political influence at the court of the one of the greatest South Indian rulers. It may be that Gunabhadra was inspired by Thevar ; such a possibility need not be excluded in the circumstances of the traditional accounts. The acceptance of the 10th century as the age of Thiruthakka Thevar raises another difficulty. There is no trace of any Tamil Sangam in that century (vide Srinivasa Pillai's *Tamil Varalaru*, pp. 204 to 207 and K. A. N. Sastri's *Colas*, p. 666, Revised Edition 1955).

We have now to deal with another tradition connecting Kamban with *Chintamani*. In his introduction to *Jeevaka Chintamani*, 3rd edition Dr. Swaminatha Iyer refers to an old document of which he does not give the age and in which it is suggested that Kamban himself acknowledged that he took a spoonful from *Chintamani*. This is said to be in reply to a suggestion at the time of his arangetral that the phrase வெள்ளி வெண்கடலின் in stanza No. 133 of விபீடணன் அடைக்கலப் படலம் seemed to be an echo from *Chintamani*. If this traditional story be correct, Kamban must have composed his poem long after the composition of *Chintamani*. Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai adds that Kamban was indebted to Thiruthakka Thevar for words, phrases, sentiments, ideas and metrical forms. He cited 3 parallel stanzas to show that the former borrowed from the latter.

Jeevaka Chintamani.	*Kamba Ramayanam.*
1. வாளினால் பேச லல்லால் வாயினால் பேசல் தேற்றேன். (257)	வில்லினாற்சொலி னல்லது வெந் திறல் வெள்கச் சொல்லினாற்சொலக் கற்றிலம் யாமெனச் சொன்னான். (கும்பகர்ணன் வதை 255)

2. துன்ப முற்றவர்க்கலால் இன்பமில்லை யாதலின் (579)	துன்புள தெனினன்றே சுகமுளது (கங்கைப் படலம் 69)
3. விருந்தாயினை யெறிநீயென விரைமார்பகங் கொடுத்தாற் கரும்பூணற வெறிந்தாங்கவ னின தூழினி யெனவே. (2265)	இணையாருமி லவனேர்தர எய்தா வலி செய்தாய் அணையாயினி யென்தூழென அடராவெளி படரா. (முதற்போர்ப் படலம் 180)

(vide *Tamil Chudarmanikal*, pp. 119 to 120).

The words, phrases and sentiments cited above are, however, so common that it is difficult to say that Kamban borrowed them from the other poet, even though he sang his poem later. It is possible that the historical method of enquiry would reverse the position by making Thevar indebted to Kamban. Perhaps both of them were contemporaries, and had a common heritage. Both were men of genius. But Thevar had the background of declining Jainism painfully conscious of a discovery of its unpopularity as the result of its arid ascetic ideal and of the necessity for making concessions to the satisfaction of lower desires in order to gain popularity. Kambar was inspired by the creative movement of bakthi generated by the Alwars and Nayanars and enriched by a sympathetic study of Sanskrit literature. In terms of Western literature, Thevar was a classic in the long tradition of Sangam poets without their realism. Kamban was a romantic with a free spirit of adventure, though he too had a mastery of Sangam classics. Indeed, he was a happy blend of both classicism and romanticism. In the matter of architectonics, Thevar was a tyro ; his *Chintamani* is a string of unconnected wedding episodes and does not move by any internal law of development to a necessary end ; but Kamban was a supreme artist, whether you take his entire poem of Ramayanam as a whole or in parts. If the works of these two poets are studied in the above perspective, any theory as to indebtedness of the one to the other in the matter of poetic diction, idioms and technique would seem to be puerile, if not meaningless.

As for the alleged metrical indebtedness of Kambar to Thevar, it is an established fact that Kamban was an unrivalled master of Vritham metre. An old saying of a poet is விருத்தம் என்னும் ஒண்பாவில் உயர் கம்பன். Indeed, Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai himself in another place waxes eloquent in describing the metrical talent of Kamban. He says Kamban was not a blind follower of poetical tradition, he was a daring genius and iconoclast . . . . He made ever new experiments in metre and words and produced a harmony never achieved before. He set up in fact a new tradition which began to find followers. Thus he exercised an adverse influence against the current notions of poetry. The poets of his age looked down upon this as heresy and taunted him with his humble birth" (p. 151, *Kamban Kaviyam*). If he was really an imitator or even in the line of the tradition of metrical evolution started by others, it is difficult to see how he could have been found guilty of heresy. Neither the learned Professor nor the editors of Annamalai University Silver Jubilee Publication, who also believe that Kamban was indebted to Thevar for metrical perfection of Vritham, explain how this was so. It is worth the study of scholars to find out the part played by Thevar and Kambar in the evolution of the metre called Vritham. In the same manner, it is worthwhile to find out whether Kamban owed anything to *Choolamani* for his rhythm.

So far as the matter in hand is concerned, the objection of Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai to the stanza beginning with எண்ணிய சகாத்தம் எண்ணூற்றேழு on the basis of the chronological priority of *Chintamani* to *Kamba Ramayanam* lacks substantial evidence and requires further investigation from various angles.

(g) Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai relies on stanza No. 37 of இராமானுஜ நூற்றந்தாதி reading as படிகொண்ட கீர்த்தி இராமாயணமென்னும் பக்தி வெள்ளம், குடிகொண்ட கோயிலிராமாநுஜன் . . . . . . for his conclusion that the bakthi movement

was canalised in the story of Rama in the time of Ramanuja. (1017 to 1137 A.D., vide *Tamil Chudarmanigal*, p. 114). He seemed to have thought that Ramayanam was not so popular in Tamilnad until then. He realised the untenability of this view in his later book, *Kamban Kaviyam*, p. 153 wherein he has stated—" we see that the story of Rama had been exercising a potent influence in the Tamil land from the earliest times ", namely early centuries of the Christian Era. But he added that the pietistic school in the 11th century and later, embellished the story and expounded it in a vivid conversational style. Evidently by the pietistic school he means the later Vaishnava Acharyas including Ramanuja. In this connection it is relevant to consider what Prof. K. A. N. Sastri has to say about this period. " It is curious that few works of religious literature seem to have been composed in Tamil by the Vaishnavas of the Tamil country in the period . . . . There is ample evidence to show that a succession of great Vaishnava Acharyas composed numerous devotional poems and philosophical works in the Sanskrit language in this period ; Yamunacharya, Yadavaprakasa and Ramanuja himself are only the leading examples of a large group of authors justly celebrated for their learning and devotion and for their literary achievements. Strangely enough, however, Vaishnavism which started as a popular movement of Religious reform and revival, appears to have developed in the Cola period a sort of highbrow attitude and scorned the use of the popular idiom ; in fact the writers of this school developed in course of time a quaint style more Sanskritised than Tamil in its make-up which is seen at its best in the great commentaries of Periya-vachan Pillai and Nambillai. Among the works composed in this style of writing, one of the earliest is the short commentary, *Arayirappadi* on Nammalvar's *Thiruvaymoli* by Kurugaipiran Pillai, a relative and disciple of Ramanuja." (*The Colas*—Revised Edition 1955, p. 681.)

This is the period which Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai wants up to look for Kamban !

We have examined the various objections of Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai. We find none of them is sufficient to discredit the stanza relied on by V.V.S. Aiyer, T.K.C. & others for placing Kamban in the 9th century. But there is no evidence to prove who composed the stanza and when it was composed. If it was a comtemporary stanza on the occasion of the arangetral of *Kamba Ramayanam*, it is well and good. If not, the question is how long after arangetral it was composed. What was the source of the knowledge of the date ? If it was forged at a later time, what was the motive for it ? These are legitimate questions to be considered.

If it be a forgery of the 16th century as contended by Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai, it seems to be strange that the date of 885 A.D. (Saka year 807) is pitched upon without reference to any ruler either Chola or Pallava. The author of the stanza in question has shown a rare knowledge of the history of the period, which we now begin to understand after a laborious research of nearly a century by an army of scholars and research workers. For, that period marks the fall of the Pallavas, and the rise of the Cholas of the dynasty of Vijayala. The stanza does full justice to Kamban's patron Sadayan, who is directly mentioned in the text of the poem as many as ten times.

(B) The second ground of the champions of the 9th century relates to the evidence of the age of Sadayan, the patron of Kamban. The poet refers to Sadayan directly in the following stanzas.

நடையி னின்றுயர் நாயகன் ரோற்றத்தி
னிடைநி கழ்ந்த விராமாவ தாரப்பேர்த்
தொடைநி ரம்பிய தோமறு மாக்கதை
சடையன் வெண்ணெய் நல்லூர்வயிற் றந்ததே.

—பாயிரம்

விண்ணவர் போய பின்றை விரிந்தபூ மழையி னூலே
தண்ணெனுங் கான நீங்கித் தாங்கருந் தவத்தின் மிக்கோன்

மண்ணவர் வறுமை நோய்க்கு மருந்தன சடையன் வெண்ணெய்
யண்ணறன் சொல்லே யன்ன படைக்கல மருளி னானே. 2

—(பாலகாண்டம்-வேள்விப்படலம்)

வண்ண மாலை கைபரப்பி யுலகை வளைந்த விருளெல்லா
முண்ண வெண்ணித் தண்மதியத் துதயத் தெழுந்த நிலாக்கற்றை
விண்ணு மண்ணுந் திசையனைத்தும் விழுங்கிக் கொண்ட விரிநன்னீர்ப்
பண்ணை வெண்ணெய்ச் சடையன்றன் புகழ்போ லெங்கும் பரந்துள
தால் 3

(மிதிலைகாண் படலம் எச)

மஞ்செனத் திகழ்தரு மலையை மாருதி
யெஞ்சலிற் கடிதெடுத் தெறிய வேநளன்
விஞ்சையிற் றாங்கினன் சடையன் வெண்ணெயிற்
றஞ்ச மென்றார்களைத் தாங்குந் தன்மைபோல். 4

—(யுத்த காண்டம் சேதுபந்தனப் படலம்)

வாசங் கலந்த மரைநாள நூலின் வகையென்ப தென்னை மழையென்
றூசங்கைகொண்ட கொடைமீளி யண்ணல் சரராமன்வெண்ணெ
யணுகுந்
தேசங் கலந்த மறைவாணர் செஞ்சொ லறிவாள ரென்றிம் முதலோர்
பாசங் கலந்த பசிபோ லகன்ற பதகன் றுரந்த வுரகம். 5

(ஷை நாகபாசப் படலம் உகூரு)

அரியணை யநுமன் றாங்க வங்கத னுடைவாள் வாங்கப்
பரதன்வெண் கவிகை யேந்த விருவருங் கவரி பற்ற
விரைசெறி குழலி யோங்க வெண்ணெய்மன் சடையன் வண்மை
மரபுளோர் கொடுப்ப வாங்கி வசிட்டனே புனைந்தான் மௌலி. 6

(ஷை ஷை ருஅ)

According to the first stanza, the *Kamba Ramayanam* was produced at Vennai Nalloor of Sadayan. According to the second, he was a generous man, who relieved the hunger of mankind and he was a man of his word. The third stanza describes his fame, spreading like the cool moon shine of the full moon night. The fourth refers to him as the generous patron of Tamil poets and Sanskrit Vedic scholars. The last one mentions that his clan had the right to present the crown to kings at the time of their coronation. There is, however, no specific act or deed of an historic nature indicating his age.

V. V. S. Iyer points out two inscriptions of the Vishnu Temple of Ukkal somewhere between Kancheepuram and Wandiwash in Chingleput District (vide Inscriptions Nos. 5 & 8 of Vol. III of S.I.I.) to indicate his age.

The English translation of No. 5 reads as follows.

Hail prosperity ! In the fifteenth year of the reign of Kambavarman : The writing of us, the assembly of Ukkal, we have received one thousand kadi of paddy from Sadayan.

We the assembly shall close (sluices of) the tank to collect water for irrigation and shall cause five hundred kadi of paddy to be supplied every year as interest on those one thousand kadi of paddy. We declare that those who disobey this shall incur all the sins committed between the Ganga & Kumari. The great men elected for the year shall cause (the paddy) to be supplied.

No. 8 reads as follows :

Hail prosperity ! in the tenth year of the reign of Kambavarman, Sadayan gave four hundred kadi of paddy to the assembly. From the interest on this paddy which amounts to one hundred kadi of paddy per year, we the assembly of Ukkal shall feed two Brahmins daily as long as the earth and sun exist. If we fail in the feeding of guests, we the assembly shall incur all the sins committed within seven hundred kadams between the Ganga and Kumari.

These two inscriptions evidence an agreement between one Sadayan and the Mahasabha at Ukkal for keeping the village tank in repair and for feeding two Brahmins. They do not however indicate either the place of Sadayan's residence or his status. He was perhaps so great or so well known that his address was not thought necessary. The generosity of the donor in the inscription bears out the tribute paid by Kamban in the above said stanzas. Still the difficulty arises whether this Sadayan was the patron

of Kamban for want of specific evidence. From the traditional account mentioned in *Chola Mandala Sathakam* and *Tamil Navalar Sarithai* on the one hand and inscriptions at Muvaloor (M.A.R. No. 29 of 1925) and of Thirukkodika (M.A.R. No. 58 of 1930) on the other, we hear of other Sadayans. Sadayan of Ukkal inscription is certainly the earliest ; for, the other inscriptions through undated, are said to be later than or about the twelfth century. Ukkal inscriptions belong to the tenth and fifteenth year of Kambavarman who is said to be the younger son of Nandivarman III of *Nandikalambakam* fame and brother of Aparajithan (882-890 A.D.) and seems to have ruled over a small portion of Northern Thondai Mandalam after the conquest of Pallava Kingdom by the Chola King Aditya I. As many as twenty inscriptions are found in the Chingleput and North Arcot Districts referring to Kambavarman's rule. Sadayan of Ukkal inscriptions is therefore a man of the last quarter of the 9th century and hence a contemporary of Kamban, visualised in the stray stanza.

It is inexplicable that Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai and others of his way of thinking have nothing to say about Ukkal inscriptions which they simply ignore.

(c) The champions of the ninth century rely on the first line of the first stanza of குலமுறை கிளத்துப்படலம் reading as ஆதித்தன் குலமுதல்வன் மனுவினையார் அறியாதார் as a distinct reference to the Chola King Aditya I (871-907). He was the conqueror of the Pallava kingdom roughly about 890 A.D. But the settlement of the newly conquered territory must have taken years and may have involved fresh campaigns. It is highly doubtful whether Kamban who had the arangetram of his poem in 885 A.D. specially referred to the future conqueror of the Pallava territory. The context makes it clear that the name of Aditya refers to the Solar race of Ayodhya rulers. It is significant that *Kamba Ramayanam* makes no reference to any ruler of Tamilnad by his natural or his proper name சென்னி பேரமலன் in பில

நீங்கு படலம்-35 is too general to identify it with any Chola ruler. சென்னி is a family name of all Chola rulers. Amalan (அமலன்) occurs in *Kulothunga Cholanula* line 157 along with அனகன் and அதுலன் and does not seem to apply to any one Chola king in particular (vide *Tamil Chudarmanikal*, pp. 126—7). As for the identification of அமலன் with Uttama Chola by the Editors of Annamalai University Silver Jubilee Publication *Sundarakandam*, we will deal with it later. The only other reference is to வீரன் தியாக விநோதன் of which we have already dealt with. From these the champions of the 9th century argue that there was no eminent ruler in the time of Kamban and hence he did not mention any. The opposite school of thought however contend that this circumstance shows that Kamban was treated in a hostile manner by the contemporary Chola king and several stories were invented to show the nature of the quarrel between them. Our suggestion is that if in the light of the stray stanza in question, Kamban belongs to the period of interregnum between the fall of the Pallavas and the rise of the later Cholas, the absence of any reference to any one particular ruler is quite natural.

(d) V. V. S. Iyer relied on another circumstance namely the absence of any reference to Tanjore. Gangaikonda-Cholapuram, Madurai, Puhar, Uranthai and Palayarai in *Kamba Ramayanam*. It is full of the colour and atmosphere of the land of the Cauvery, the poet's home country and it is significant that he did not mention or even echo any thing about the mighty towns and palaces raised by the later Cholas. The poet is not conscious of their great achievements in building an empire and extending it overseas. V. V. S. Iyer therefore thought that Kamban must have lived earlier than the empire of the later Cholas. This also, would confirm the genuineness of the stanza in question. (Vide his edition of *Balakandam*—introduction).

We now take up the case of the champions of the 10th century. Their reasons are 1. The identification of 'Amalan' அமலன் with Uttama Cholan (970-85). 2. The

stanza beginning with ஆவின் கொடைச்சகரர் ஆயிரத்து நூறொழித்து relied on by the champions of the 12th century with a different interpretation.

The first reason is untenable. The stanza reads:

புவிபுகழ் சென்னி பேரமலன் தோள்புகழ்
கவிகள் தம்மனையென கனக ராசியும்
சவியுடைத் தூசுமென் சாந்து மாலையும்
அவிரிழைக் குப்பையும் அளவில் லாதது. —பிலநீங்கு படலம் 35

If Kamban really wanted to do honour to the ruling Cholas, it is difficult to see that he would have chosen to do it in such an obscure place such as பிலநீங்கு படலம் and that too in the form of a comparison. We are unable to understand how 'Amalan' and Uttaman are one and the same term. The one is negative, meaning faultlessness; the other is positive, connoting active virtue. As already stated 'Amalan' is a term used in a general sense, which is applicable to all Chola rulers, at any rate in the view of Court poets. Apart from the assertion that the terms mean same things, they do not give reasons for their identification.

As for the second reason, the learned editors stand on a stronger ground. As already stated the expression ஆயிரத்து நூறொழித்து literally means a thousand deducting one hundred; that answers to Saka year 900 corresponding to 978 A.D. This date certainly falls within the reign of Uttama Cholan (970-985). But the problem about this stanza is as already stated that no one knows when and by whom this stanza was composed, besides the very many difficulties pointed out *supra* in accepting this. In any case it requires other corroborative evidence in support of this date 978 A.D.

We have seen the conclusion of various schools. The earliest date assigned for Arangetram of *Kamba Ramayanam* is 885 A.D. and the latest 1185 A.D. There is a gap of nearly 300 years. These years saw the foundation, growth and decline of the empire of the later Cholas. The most

glorious epoch of Tamil history falls within this period. Under Rajaraja I (985-1013) the Chola kingdom grew to be an empire, and under his son and grandsons (1025-1069) it reached its height, and under them it spread overseas over the Indian ocean in South East Asia including a great portion of Indonesia. The earliest date assigned by V. V. S. Iyer and others places Kamban in the period of the rise of Cholas before the foundation of the empire, while the latest date assigned by Vaiyapuri Pillai and others places him at its decline and the date assigned by the Annamalai University Silver Jubilee Publication places him at an advanced stage of its growth before it became an Empire. Now, the question arises whether Kamban lived before or after the rise of the later Chola Empire or when that empire was at its zenith.

(*To be continued*)

Historical Writing on the Peoples of Asia
South Asia Seminar

Historical Ideas in Early Tamil Literature

K. K. PILLAY

INTRODUCTION :

It is indisputable that professedly historical works are conspicuous by their absence in early India. Several writers, commencing with Alberuni, the discerning scholar who visited the country in the 11th century A.D., have observed that Indians of the past, despite their high intellectual attainments, lacked the historic spirit. This feature is as much true of the Tamils as of the rest of the Indians.

However, the Sangam classics, comprising the extant literary works of the early Tamils, contain extraordinarily abundant data of historical value. They throw a flood of light on the political, and still more on the social and religious conditions of the early Tamils. But the determination of the chronology of the Sangam age on the one hand, and the sifting of the historical data from the vast mass of miscellaneous material on the other, is by no means easy. The origin of the Sangam, the celebrated literary Academy, is itself enshrouded in mystery.

THE S'ANGAM

The earliest account of the S'aṅgam appears in the Commentary on the *Iṛaiyanār Ahapporuḷ* (Grammar of Tamil Poetry)[1] which is not assignable to a date earlier

[1] See Dr. S. K. Aiyangar: *Beginnings of South Indian History* (1918) pp. 249-56 for an account of the legend and P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar: *History of the Tamils* (1929), pp. 226-30 for a critical examination of the legend.

than 8th century A.D. Moreover, it is coloured by the belief in the supernatural agency. It speaks of three successive S'aṅgams which lasted altogether for 9,990 years and had in the aggregate 8,598 poets, who included certain gods as well! On the face of it this account is incredible.

Nevertheless, the entire tradition concerning the Academy does not seem to have been a fiction, for in the first place, traditions do not arise normally without any basis. Secondly, certain kings and poets figure in more than one classic of the S'aṅgam age. Apparently, fact and fiction seem to have become mixed up in the account recorded in the Commentary on the *Iṛaiyanār Ahapporuḷ*. While it is quite probable that an academy of poets flourished under the patronage of the Pāṇḍyan kings, as mentioned in the *Vēlvikkudi grant*,[2] many of the details concerning the S'aṅgam are clearly figments of the mythmaker's imagination.

It is not possible to determine whether there existed three S'aṅgams or only one. The legend that the Pāṇḍyan kings changed their capitals twice before they settled in the present Madurai, is supported partly by the reference in the Mahābhārata and by the evidence of Pliny.[3] The fact of the three capitals was perhaps responsible for the legend of the three S'aṅgams. Tradition is, however, persistent that the two earlier S'aṅgams had produced numerous literary works, most of which have perished and that the extant classics are mainly the products of the third S'aṅgam. It must be admitted that it is impossible to arrive at a finality in respect of this question.

CHRONOLOGICAL BASIS: Nor do the extant S'aṅgam works provide a firm chronological foothold for the history

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[2] Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1908, pp. 50 ff. That there flourished a S'angam is evident from the statement alleged to have been made by Nedunjelian, the victor of the battle of Talayālanganam, that if he were to be defeated, the extent of his kingdom should not be sung by poets of world-wide renown, the chief of whom was Māngudi Marudan of great eminence (*Puram*, 72).

[3] *Mahabharata*, Par IX, 36. See also E. H. Warmington: *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, (1928) p. 167.

of the early Tamils. The determination of the age of the S'aṅgam has proved a vexed problem, for speculation on it has ranged from 500 B.C. to A.D. 500 not to speak of the extreme views on its upper and lower limits.[4] Doubtless, the Academy flourished prior to the 7th century A.D. because of the S'aiva hymnists, Sambandar and Appar, who were the contemporaries of Pallava Narasimhavarmaṇ I of 7th century A.D. refer to the S'aṅgam.[5] Besides it is obvious that several centuries must have intervened before the rather archaic style of the S'aṅgam works attained the simple pattern of the devotional hymns of the 7th century A.D. Then again, it is unlikely that between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D., when Tamilaham was under the chaos caused by the Kaḷabhra eruption, the S'aṅgam would have flourished under the patronage of the Pāṇḍyan kings.

In fact, the generally accepted view which assigns the S'aṅgam to the early centuries of the Christian era seems to be based on valid grounds.[6] Besides the *Gajabāhu Seṅguttuvan* synchronism, the so-called sheet-anchor of South Indian history, which ascribes the events embodied in the *S'ilappadikāram* to the 2nd century A.D., the remarkable coincidence of the Tamil literary references with the data furnished by the Greek geographers of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., reinforced by the discovery of the Roman coins of that period in South India lends support to this view. However, this conclusion has recently been challenged on the ground that the South Indian Brāhmī inscriptions of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., reveal Tamil of a crude form and that the well-developed language of the S'aṅgam classics could not have appeared prior to

[4] See V. R. R. Dikshitar: *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, (1936) pp. 20-21 and K. G. Sesha Aiyar: *Cera kings of the Sangam period* (1937) pp. 97-122 for an enumeration of the different theories.

[5] *Tiruttevar Tevaram*, II, 10 and *Tirupputtur Tiruttagam*, II, 1.2.

[6] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *A History of South India*, (1955) pp. 112-13. While it is likely that the term Sangam was derived from the Jains or Buddhists, P. T. S. Iyengar's suggestion that the Tamil Sangam was established on the model of Vajra Nandi's Jain Sangha of A.D. 470 at Madurai, seems to be little more than a piece of guess work. (Op. cit. p.247).

A.D. 500.[7] But this challenge is based on a doubtful hypothesis. The language of these inscriptions represents a hybrid of Prākṛit and Tamil and not the real Tamil of the age.[8]

The extant S'aṅgam literature comprises the eight anthologies called *Eṭṭuttogai* of short lyrics and the Ten Idylls known as *Pattuppāṭṭu*.[9] These poems are broadly classifiable into two groups, viz., those called '*Puṛam*' works which deal with external matters like war and patronage of king and 'Aham' works which concern themselves with love.[10] The anthologies and Idylls were no doubt compiled several centuries after the S'aṅgam age. Further, all the works in each of these categories were not composed at the same time either. Even verses in the *Puṛanānūru* belong to different periods of time within the S'aṅgam age. *Kalittogai* and *Paripāḍal* seem to be later than *Ahanānūṛu*, while *Tirumurugāṛṛuppaḍai* among the Ten Idylls was unquestionably a late composition, posterior to the 3rd century A.D.

According to tradition the *Eighteen Minor works* called *Patinenkīḻkanakku*, as well as the two great epics, *Maṇimēkhalai* and *S'ilappadikāram*, are classed among the S'aṅgam classics. But the language as well as the ideas contained in most of them indicate a later date for them. However, all the '18 didactic poems', as they are described, do not belong to the same time, though they were grouped together because of the 'veṇbā' metre in which all these

[7] Dr. N. P. Chakravarti: Presidential address to the 17th session of the Indian History Congress, December, 1954.

[8] K. K. Pillay: 'The South Indian Brahmi Inscriptions and the Sangam Age', *Tamil Culture*, April, 1956.

[9] See V. R. R. Dikshitar: op. cit. pp. 24-45 for a brief account of the extant works of the Sangam literature.

[10] Among the *Ettuttogai* anthologies, *Purananuru*, and *Padirruppattu* deal with Puram, and *Narrinai, Kurundogai, Aingurunuru, Kalittogai* and *Ahananuru* with Aham, while *Paripadal* partakes of the characteristics of both. Among the Ten Idylls, *Porunararruppadai, Sirupanarruppadai, Perumpanarruppadai, Tirumurugarruppadai*, and *Malaipadukadam* are laudatory poems on patrons, and *Mullaippattu, Nedunalvadai, Kurinjippattu* and *Pattinappalai* are love poems, while *Maduraikkanchi* is a benedictory poem.

poems were composed. Tradition which assigns the celebrated *Kuṟaḷ* to the S'aṅgam age might well be true to fact.[11] That *Kuṟaḷ* speaks of love marriages typical of the S'aṅgam age as contrasted with those of the *S'ilappadikāram* epoch is a pointer in this direction. *Kuṟaḷ* (verse 475) mentions the example of the cart loaded with the feathers of peacocks ; it is suggestive of the cart loads of feathers sent abroad during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Again, *Kaḷavali*, another of the 18 minor works, was not far removed from the date of one verse in *Puṟanānūru* (v. 74). But *Tirukaḍugam* and *S'irupañcamūlam* are the latest in the series and were composed in the 9th century A.D. The references to *Peru Muttaraiyar* in *Nāladiyār* indicate contemporaniety of the work with these chieftains of the 9th century.

The twin epics are anterior to many of the 18 didactic works, although the tradition which assigns them to the S'aṅgam age seems unacceptable. The themes of the epics belong in all probability to the 2nd century A.D. The political background of the stories, and in particular the *Gajabāhu Seṅguṭṭuvan* synchronism, indicate this. The supernatural element in the epics apart, the principal events mentioned in *S'ilappadikāram* could well have occurred in the 2nd century A.D. The omission of the Pallavas in the political picture confirms it. Some time after popular imagination had spun stories out of the events, talented poets would have shaped them into epic form. Besides the larger proportion of Sanskrit words than in the early Tamil literature, the improved forms of the language, the appearance of the northern pattern of marriage ceremonies and the prominent role assigned to the festival of Indra in *S'ilappadikāram*, all indicate a later date for the epics than for the

11 Contra, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit. p. 350. The reference to the author of *Kural* as the true poet (Poyyil pulavan) in *Manimekhalai* (Canto 22, 11.60-1) suggests an established reputation and an early date for him. Besides, the extant *Tiruvalluvamalai*, an anthology of panegyric verses sung by the Sangam poets, proves the early appreciation of his splendid work.

S'aṅgam works.[12] It is interesting to find that a recent writer proceeding on astronomical data furnished by *S'ilappadikāram* and its famous commentator, *Aḍiyārkunallār*, suggests A.D. 465 as the date for the composition of the epic.[13]

Maṇimēkhalai is totally Buddhist in its setting and though it is not indisputably established that Dinnāga's *Nyāyapravēsa* had influenced the epic, the Buddhistic philosophy of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. is clearly discernible in it.[14] *Maṇimēkhalai* reveals that Kāñci had become a centre of Buddhist learning. It may be recalled that Buddhist and Jain devotees had found their way into South India as early as the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. On the whole there is little justification for assigning the epics to a period later than the 5th century A.D. ; in all probability they belong to the 4th or 5th century A.D.[15]

HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE LITERATURE

Against the chronological background outlined above, the historical value of the different classes of early Tamil literature may be assessed. Among the S'aṅgam classics, *Puṟanāṉūru*. *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Padiṟṟuppattu* are the most important works for the reconstruction of the people's history. Though the *Aham* poems which deal with love,

[12] *Indra Vila* (festival) is hardly mentioned in the Sangam classics. A faint reference to the temple of Indra occurs in *Puram* (241). On the other hand, by the age of the epics the Indra festival had become so important that Puhar is stated to have been destroyed by Heavenly wrath caused by the failure to celebrate it regularly.

[13] M. Rajarao: 'The chronology of events in the *Silappadikaram*' *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*—Culture and Heritage Number, 1956.

[14] See S. Kuppuswami Sastri: *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. I, pp. 191-291. Contra Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar: *Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting*, (1928) pp. xxiv ff. Dr. Aiyangar thinks that the views of Dinnaga must have been independently anticipated by the author of *Manimekhalai* which might have been composed a century earlier than Dinnaga, whose date, it may be added, is still a matter of speculation

[15] Paranar, a Sangam poet has sung on Seran Senguttuvan who figures also in *Silappadikaram*. Either Senguttuvan of Paranar was a different king, or more probably Paranar was a contemporary poet of Senguttuvan, while the author of the *Silappadikaram* was of a later period.

occasionally advert to historical events and social customs, they are not as full and vivid in these respects as the *Puṛam* works in general.

The short lyrics of *Eṭṭuttogai* furnish a clue to the date, authorship of the poems and the occasion for their composition by means of a colophon appended to each poem. The Idylls also provide similar epilogues, padigams, as they are called, but generally they are far too brief and little more than the authors' names are available from them. Among the *Eṭṭuttogai* collections themselves the historical value of the colophons is not uniformly of the same character. The padigams of the *Padiṛṛuppattu* appear to have been appended long after the poems were composed, for they mention important facts which are not found in the poems. For instance, S'eñguṭṭvan's northern expedition, the most important achievement ascribed to him by *S'ilappadikāram,* is found mentioned in the padigam of the 5th Decad and not in the poem itself.

Far different is the case of the colophons in *Puṛanānūṛu,* since they seem to have appeared contemporaneously with the poems themselves.[16] Besides, there is no valid reason for disputing the claim registered in the colophons of *Puṛanānūṛu* that the poems were contemporary compositions dealing with particular situations to which the poets themselves were eye witnesses. If this claim is true, the historical value of the work is great.

A remarkable feature about the *Puṛam* poems is that they deal with the situations in an objective and realistic manner. There is little of the conventional pattern either in their themes or in their treatment of the subject as we find in later poems. It is important to observe that the S'aṅgam poets were not petty minded supplicants who praised their patrons indiscriminately. There are a number of courageous outbursts of poets expressing their con-

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16 Madras Epigraphist's Report, 1907, p. 52 and K. A. N. Sastri: *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, pp. 14-18.

tempt of those rulers who failed to treat them in the befitting manner.[17] Thus the poets maintained their self-respect, despite their poverty. Their poems were generally true to their convictions, though extravagant praises of generous patrons have occasionally found their way into the poems.

A principal drawback of the data provided by the S'angam works is that a continuous political history of the dynasties of the age cannot be reconstructed, for it is difficult to determine the genealogy or chronological relationship of the kings who figure in the classics. The Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Cēra dynasties dominate Tamiḻakam in their respective divisions, while in between their territories, there ruled several minor chieftains. But the achievements of prominent rulers and incidentally the character of monarchy are about the only data of political history which can be gathered from the poems.

THE PANDYAS: References to several Pāṇḍyan kings are found in the S'aṅgam poems. *Maduraikkāñci,* for instance, speaks of two kings. *Nediyōn*[18] and *Palyāgasalai Mudukuḍumi,*[19] but unquestionably the hero of the poem is *Neḍuñjeḻiyaṅ* who won the famous victory at *Talayālaṅgānam* against a combination of the contemporary *Cēra* and *Cōla* kings and five minor chiefs. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine the distance of time which intervened between this *Neḍuñjeḻiyan* and the king of the same name *Āryappaḍaikadanda Neḍuñjeḻiyan*, figuring in *S'ilappadikāram.*

The victor of *Talayālaṅgānam* is praised also in numerous poems in *Puṟanāṉūru,*[20] *Ahanāṉūṟu.*[21] *Kuṟuntogai*[22] and

[17] As examples of poets who boldly remonstrated against ill-treatment may be mentioned *Perundalai Sattanar* (Puram 151, 165, 205); *Peruncittiranar* (Puram 207 and 208) and *Auvaiyar* (Puram 206).

[18] *Maduraikkanci,* 1. 61. He has been identified with Vadimbalamba Ninravan by the annotator, Naccinarkiniyar.

[19] *Ibid.* 1. 759.

[20] *Purananuru,* briefly called *Puraṃ,* verses 18, 19, 23-6, 76-9, 371-2.

[21] *Akananuru,* briefly called *Aham,* verses 36, 116, 175, 253, 266 and 238.

[22] *Kuruntogai,* 393.

Naṟṟiṇai.[23] An ambitious warrior, a generous patron of poets, and a staunch Hindu who performed a Vēdic sacrifice, *Neḍuñjeḷiyan* was one of the outstanding Pāṇḍyan kings, celebrated in the S'aṅgam classics.

Among the successors of *Neḍuñjeḷiyan* known to Tamil literature there appears *Ugraperuvaḷuti,* a valiant warrior who subdued his opponent, the chief of *Kanappēr.*[24] A poet of eminence, he himself, is believed to have caused the anthology of *Ahanānūṟu* to be made. Another Pāṇḍyan king, famous in the S'aṅgam literature is the poet king *Bhūtappāṇḍiyan* who captured Ollaiyūr.[25] An able warrior, a generous and affectionate friend as well as a loving husband, he was an enlightened ruler. The names of several other Pāṇḍyan monarchs occur in the classics ; but few details about them are available.

THE COLAS : The data regarding the early Cōḷas do not differ radically in character from those on the Pāṇḍyas. A continuous history of the kings and their rule is not possible to be reconstructed. The schemes of genealogy attempted by V. Kanakasabhai and M. Raghava Aiyangar are not fully supported by the available sources.[26]

As among the Pāṇḍyas, certain Cōḷa kings stand out prominently in the poems. *Kariкāla* is clearly the most outstanding personality among all the monarchs of the age. His brilliant victory at Veṇṇi against the Cēra and Pāṇḍya sovereigns[27] as well as his triumph over a confederacy of nine minor chieftains in a battle at *Vākaipparandalai*[28] and finally the havoc caused by his forces in the territories of his enemies[29] are all vividly described. *Kari-*

23 *Narrinai,* 358 and 387.

24 *Puram,* 21 and 367 ; *Aham,* 26 and *Narrinai,* 98.

25 *Puram,* 71, 246, 247 and *Aham,* 26.

26 V. Kanakasabhai Pillai : *Tamils Eighteen hundred years ago,* (1904) p. 76. M. Raghava Iyengar : *Seran Senguttuvan* (Tamil) 2nd edn., 106-7 n. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Colas,* (1955), p. 58, n. 60 for the criticism of the genealogies attempted so far.

27 *Puram* 65 ; *Aham* 55, 246.

28 *Aham* 125.

29 *Aham* 141, *Pattinappalai,* ll. 228-82.

kāla's development of irrigation and his promotion of trade and industry in *Kāverippūmpaṭṭinam* receive special treatment in *Paṭṭinappālai.*[30] His exploits are mentioned also in *Puṟanānūṟu, Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai, Maṇimēkhalai* and *S'ilappadikāram.*[31] Many of his achievements specified in literature are echoed in later inscriptions like the *Malepaḍu Plates, Anbil Plates, Tiruvālaṅgādu Plates, Larger Leyden grant* and the *Kanyākumari inscription.*

It may be observed that many legends have gathered around the personality of *Karikāla* in the post-S'aṅgam period. Later literature, as seen from *Kalingattupparani, Vikramacōḷan Ulā* and *Rājarājacōlan Ulā*, all of the 12th century A.D., present embellished accounts, which are clearly legendary in character. While *Karikāla* of the S'aṅgam works appears a realistic personality, he becomes enveloped in an admixture of legends and facts in later literature.[32]

A Cōḷa king who ruled considerably later than *Karikāla* was *Kōcceṅgaṇṇan*, the *S'aiva* devotee, whose victory at the battle of *Kaḷumalam* against the Cēra ruler *Kaṇaikkal Irumpoṟai* is found described in a rather conventional manner in *Kaḷavaḷi*. The author of *Kaḷavaḷi*, called *Poygaiyār*, a benefactor of the Cēra king, cannot be identified, as has been done, with the celebrated *Vaiṣṇava* saint, Poygai Alvar, since the battle of *Kaḷumalam* is mentioned in *Puṟanānūṟu,*[33] where it is stated that the vanquished Cēra king himself composed that verse.[34]

THE CERAS: The only dynasty about which a fairly consecutive genealogy can be constructed by the aid of the early Tamil literature is that of the Cēras. *Padiṟṟuppattu* (Ten Decads) concern themselves entirely with

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30 *Pattinappalai*, ll. 283-4.

31 *Puram* 7, 224; *Porunararruppadai* ll. 141-8, 187-8; *Manimekhalai*, Canto I. i. 39. *Silappadikaram*, Canto V, ll. 90-104: Canto VI, ll. 159-60.

32 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, (1932) pp. 19-38.

33 *Puram*, 74.

34 Incidentally it indicates that *Kalavali* belongs to the Sangam age.

the achievements of the Cēra kings. Of the original collection, unfortunately the first and last Decads have been lost. Each of the remaining Decads deals with the achievement of a particular Cēra monarch. *Padiṟṟuppattu* furnishes a dynastic list of the Cēra kings and the duration of each reign. K. G. Sesha Aiyar has made a commendable attempt at constructing a chronological framework. But he encounters certain difficulties, which he tries to overcome by means of certain hypotheses, some of which are clearly untenable.[35]

A serious obstacle to the framing of a succession list of the kings is that there were two lines of Cēras, one ruling at *Vañci* and the other at *Toṇḍi*, simultaneously for the most part. The exact relationship of the members of the collateral branch with those of the main line is not ascertainable in every case: nor is the capital of every ruler specifically mentioned. Moreover, the date of the Cēra rule in terms of known chronology is not easily determinable, for *Padiṟṟuppattu* does not provide its account in terms of any era. Sesha Aiyar's basic date, viz., A.D. 125, the opening year of S'eṅguṭṭuvaṉ's reign is based on the Gajabāhu Seṅguṭṭuvaṉ synchronism.

Of the eight Cēra kings whose achievements are described in *Padiṟṟuppattu*, clearly S'eṅguṭṭuvan is the most outstanding personality. The famous poet, *Paranar*, has devoted the 5th Decad to this sovereign, while many of his achievements are echoed in *S'ilappadikāram*. S'eṅguṭṭuvan's northern conquests, his defeat of Nannan, the Velir chieftain, his overthrow of a confederacy of nine Cōḷas at Nerivāyil and his triumph over the *Koṅgar* are all mentioned in the epic.[36] S'eṅguṭṭuvaṉ was a devout Hindu who performed the Vēdic sacrifices and worshipped both *S'iva* and *Viṣṇu*.[37]. S'eṅguṭṭuvaṉ was, in all probability a kinsman of *Karikāla*. From the references to these

35 K. G. Sesha Aiyar: '*Cera kings of the Sangam Period*'. (1937) pp. 125-9.

36 Canto XXVIII ll. 114-22.

37 Ibid, Canto XXVI ll. 54-6.

monarchs in *Padiṟṟuppattu* and *S'ilappadikāram* it seems that Karikāla was the maternal great-grand-father of S'eṅguṭṭuvaṉ.

Puṟnānūru speaks of nine more Cēra kings besides those mentioned in *Padiṟṟuppattu*. The reason for the omission of these names remains a mystery. Perhaps the 1st and last Decads mention some or all of the rest; or more probably several of the Cēras mentioned in *Puṟanānūṟu* were subordinate chiefs. However, it is significant that a few of the names found in *Puṟanānūṟu* occur in *Ahanānūṟu* as well.[38] Since the padigam of the 2nd Decad states that Udiyam Cēral was the father of Imayavaramban Neḍumcēralātan who is the hero of that Decad, it is likely that Udiyam Cēral was the hero of the first Decad. Thus while the historical data regarding the Cēras is more adequate than in respect of the other two dynasties there remain insoluble problems which make even the history of the Cēras far from complete or satisfactory.

MINOR CHIEFTAINS: Several minor chieftains who ruled in various parts of the Tamil country are mentioned in the classics. The most prominent among them are Āy Aṇḍiran and Pāri, both renowned for heroism and patronage of poets. Though we come across the names of five other chieftains who, along with Aṇḍiran and Pāri, constituted the seven 'Vaḷḷals' (paragons of generosity), it is not possible to construct the genealogical line of these chieftains or determine their relationship with the rulers of the principal dynasties.

Thus, evaluating the literary source for the political history, it is found that though details are known about the achievements of several monarchs in each dynasty, the material is not adequate enough to help a systematic reconstruction of history. The knowledge of the Cēras is more full and continuous than that of the rest, but even here the lacunae are not inconsiderable. Nor can all the

[38] See *Puram* 2; *Aham* 65 and 168.

details furnished about the kings be considered historical. While the references to kings are realistic and sober in comparison with the data in later literature, it must be admitted that all poetic accounts have inherent limitations as a source of history. For one thing the focus of attention on the part of the poet would not have been the same as that of a chronicler or historian.[39]

Doubtless the inferences deducible from the literature about the general character of monarchy and the ideals and aspirations which guided the rulers are interesting. Kings were generally war-minded and wars were frequent. Heroism in war was held up as a great virtue. Death in the field of battle, valiantly fighting to the last, was considered a meritorious end for a ruler. The Cēra king Ātan II who was wounded on the back on the battlefield committed suicide on that account. Details concerning the army corps of the early Tamil kings, the different stages of an expedition, the pattern of military training and the ethics of warfare are all available from the early literature.[40]

There was a lofty conception of royal duties. The maintenance of impartial justice, protection of the poor and the helpless, the promotion of the economic well-being of the subjects[41] and the performance of religious rites for the sake of the people's welfare[42] were considered their legitimate duties. The *Kural* provides a systematic exposition of the responsibilities of an ideal king.[43].

It would seem that kings were remarkably enlightened. Invariably all kings were patrons of the learned. Even

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39 K. A. N. Sastri seems to overestimate the value of *Purananuru* when he says: 'The data furnished by these poems for historical reconstructions will not be the less valuable on account of their being drawn from casual literary pieces rather than from chronicles or other works of a professedly historical nature'. *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, p. 1.

40 See V. R. R. Dikshitar: *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, (1936) pp. 229-54.

41 *Puram*, 35. *Padirruppattu*, 13.

42 *Puram*, 26.

43 *Kural*, see for example Nos. 448, 543, 545, 555, 564, 638 and 872.

more interesting is the fact that many kings themselves were poets. Many of the early Pāṇḍyan monarchs and those of some other dynasties too, were gifted poets. The kings were intimately associated with poets, some of whom acted as advisers or messengers of the monarchs. The royal custom of according a warm reception to the wandering minstrels, Pāṇar as they were called, contributed to the lively maintenance of the arts of poetry and dance.

The impression which the poems give is that the monarch was an autocrat. But in reality, with the restraining influence of the poets and ministers and with a growing reverence for custom, the king was an ideal ruler suited to the times. Whether the groups of advisers called 'aimperuṅguḷu' and 'eṇpērāyam' denoted councils of representatives or merely attendants on the king, there is little doubt that the ruler was guided and influenced by several competent persons.

References to 'manram', 'podiyil' and 'avai' in the classics suggest that there were frequent gatherings of the people. It is not possible to ascertain what role they played in the political life of the land. But it is presumable that they constituted a type of folk gathering where the people indicated their wishes. It cannot but be regretted that the light thrown on the political life of the common people is not adequate.

SOCIAL LIFE: It is concerning social life that an amazing wealth of material is provided by literature. True, the matter is available but indirectly. Incidental to the description of personalities or events there appear details of social habits, customs, religious institutions and practices and developments of arts and education. Normally, the more casual and indirect the data, the more true and faithful is the picture obtained. In comparison with professional history it suffers in one respect; it lacks a sense of proportion. Those details which are of great interest to the historian might or might not receive attention at the hands of the poets.

It is important to remember that for the most part, the S'aṅgam poems were not produced by persons who pursued poetry for its own sake. Many of the poems came from the 'Pāṇar', the professional class of minstrels, who were the roving bards of the time. Some of them were poets of real merit, while others were musicians, who along with their womenfolk went about visiting kings and chieftains, delighting them with their songs and dances. They praised the liberal patrons while they condemned boldly those who were not warm or generous to them.

As a source of social history the early poems have their shortcomings. They do not touch upon all aspects of social life. Nor do they afford a connected picture of the past, throwing light on the changes which occurred from time to time. Historical averaging, which inevitably contains inaccuracies may be the result; it may provide an unreal appearance of flat uniformity and absence of change. In order to avoid this danger, it is necessary to limit our observations to the time indicated by the specific sources of information, except in such cases where there is definite evidence of the continuance of an institution or practice once established. For instance, meat and liquor were quite commonly used in the S'aṅgam age; in the period of the epics they were condemned by moralists. Again, it is doubtful whether all the intricate patterns of dance described in *S'ilappadikāram* were known to the S'aṅgam age.[44]

Here it is not possible to give a full picture of the social habits and customs gleaned from the early Tamil literature. The general character of the data available from the literary works, illustrated by a few examples, is all that can be indicated. Among the S'aṅgam works unquestionably *Puṟanānūṟu* and *Pattuppāttu* afford the most abundant data for the social historian, though the other classics, too, are occasionally helpful.

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[44] As an example of such unwarranted generalisation see V. R. R. Dikshitar's treatment of Indra's festival. *Op. cit.* pp. 305-07.

The houses of the people in different strata of society, as well as the palaces of kings, are found described.[45] Food and clothing find numerous references.[46] Meat and liquor were commonly used in the S'aṅgam age,[47] but by the time of the epics a tendency to prohibit their use is clearly in evidence.[48] Men and women dressed their hair with oil.[49] *Kuṟinjippāṭṭu* mentions the custom of women arranging their hair in five braids.[50] References to the habit of wearing *sandals* as footwear are found.[51] The habit of eating betel leaves with lime and arecanut, prevalent in the S'aṅgam age, continued in the period of the epics[52] and still later.

Descriptions of the agriculture and trade of the Tamils appear in numberless places in the classics.[53] While the life of the people belonging to the five natural divisions of the land is described in many of the S'aṅgam works, the habits and customs of the *Paradavar*, the fishermen in Neydal, are vividly portrayed in *Maduraikkāñci* and *Paṭṭinappālai*.[54]

Occupation was the basis of division into castes among the early Tamils. But, even as early as the age of *Puṟanāṉūṟu* it is seen that the Āryan four-fold classification had found its way into the Tamil country. The result was that from about the S'aṅgam age onwards there commenced the fusion of the indigenous and imported systems.[55] *Puṟa-*

45 *Puram*, 196; *Perumpanarruppadai*, 405; *Pattinappalai*, 11. 117-20.

46 *Puram*, 160, 390, 398; *Mullaippattu*, 60; *Kuruntogai*, 167, 210.

47 *Puram*. 56, 150; *Malaipadukadam*, 11. 153, 155, 168, 175-8, etc. *Pattinappalai*, 108.

48 *Silappadikaram*, Canto XXX, 1. 189.

49 *Puram*, 279.

50 *Kurinjipattu*, 1. 139.

51 *Puram*, 257; *Perumpanarruppadai*, 69; *Maduraikkanci*, 63.

52 *Puram*. 62; *Silappadikaram* , Canto XVI, 1. 55; *Manimekhalai*, Canto XXVIII, lines 240-3 Contra. K. A. N. Sastri: *A History of South India*, p. 130.

53 *Puram*, 230, 289, 368; *Narrinai*, 93; *Pattinappalai*, 11. 5-28; *Porunararrupadai*, 11. 245-6. P. T. S. Iyengar gives a diffuse description about the foreign trade in his '*History of the Tamils*', Ch. XVIII. The most systematic account is still that of Warmington: 'The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India', pp. 274 ff.

54 *Maduraikkanci*, 11. 139-44; *Pattinappalai*, 11. 59-117.

55 *Puram*, 183, *Tolkappiyam*, *Poruladhikaram*, 20 and 632.

nānūṟu, while mentioning the pre-Āryan castes also refers to the brāhmins and their high social position.[56] By the time of the epics the amalgam of the two systems of caste had taken firm root, and what is more, the multiplication of subcastes had proceeded to an inordinate extent.[57]

Two forms of marriage, (marriage in secrecy and marriage in the open) were in vogue among the Tamils from early times. But beginning perhaps from the S'aṅgam age these undergo a change and by the time of the epics the forms of Āryan marriage, together with fire rites seem to have become established in the Tamil country.[58] But the original customs persisted in certain respects and it is important to observe that some of them were adopted by the brāhmins as well. For example, the ancient usage of the bride-groom tying *tāli* (marriage symbol) around the neck of the bride,[59] as well as *Sati* and the tonsure of widows[60] were continued side by side with the Āryan rituals and ceremonies.

There is little doubt that in the S'aṅgam age woman was held in high esteem ; she was considered the luminary of the home. *Pattuppāṭṭu* reveals that women enjoyed freedom and that they moved about in public without affecting prudery. '*Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*', in particular throws much light on this question.[61] It describes, for instance, how girls in the *brāhmin* villages sported in ponds, women mingled freely in the village festivals and how rich ladies participated in certain pastimes and amusements of their own. Of course, all through the ages, unstinting devotion to the husband was the high ideal of virtue held up for women. This is admirably emphasised in the celebrated *Kural,* though several earlier works also touch upon it.

56 *Puram*, 34, 122, 166, 224.
57 *Silappadikaram*, Canto V, 11, 24-58.
58 Ibid, Canto I, 11. 45-58. See Tolkappiyam 'Karpiyal' sutra 4 and 'Porul' sutras 104-6 regarding the original two forms of marriage.
59 *Aham*, 7.
60 *Puram*, 246 and 247.
61 *Kural*, see for example, Nos. 51, 55, 56.

Side by side with the high ideals for women who led the household life there existed harlots or public women, who enticed rich young men for the sake of their money. The S'angam works themselves speak of the harlots and the low social position they occupied. It is needless to add that by the time of the epics the institution had taken a firm root in the country.

The amusements and pastimes of the people reveal at once their rustic simplicity and robust outlook on life. While boys and girls had numerous kinds of interesting games,[62] adults enjoyed manly sports and physical contests, besides the training for warfare, which was provided in certain village organisations. Cock-fights and ram-fights were common amusements which attracted vast crowds of enthusiastic spectators. Festivals were common. For example, during summer there appeared the *Kāmavēḷ* festival, in honour of Kāma, the god of Love. By the days of *S'ilappadikāram* the pastimes and festivals had increased in their number and variety.[63] Festivals in honour of gods like *Muruga*, *Koṟṟavai* and *Viṣṇu*, not to speak of the grand festival of *Indra*, all assume a great importance.

It was a common practice even in the S'angam age for monarchs and the rich to enjoy their leisure by listening to songs and poems of minstrels and poets, while sitting in pavilions in front of their mansions. Minstrels were provided with food and robes as well as presents of gold. Dancers also vied with each other in the display of their arts in these gatherings.[64]

The progress made by the early Tamils in the arts of dancing, music and poetry was remarkable. The ubiquitous *Pāṇar* and *Viraḷiyar*, the roving bards, played a great part in the development of these arts. Many of the early classics furnish vivid descriptions of these arts as they

[62] *Puram*, 85, *Paṭṭinappālai*, 11. 23-6.

[63] *Silappadikaram*. Cantos V and VI.

[64] *Puram*, 33, mentions in particular the popular dance, *Alliyakkuttu*.

flourished in the country. Tradition has it that several ancient Tamil classics on music have perished. However, there is little doubt that all these fine arts attained a high degree of perfection in the age of the epics. Very graphic descriptions of the patterns of dance, the systematic training provided, the forms of music, vocal and instrumental, the wide variety of instruments are all described in *S'ilappadikāram.*[65] The *Pāṇar* and *Viraḷiyar* do not appear in the epic period as during the S'aṅgam age. Apparently the artists had given up their roving missions and had settled down in towns.

It is also noticeable that by the epoch of *S'ilappadikāram* the fine arts of music and dance[66] became associated with temples besides palaces and village parks. Temples existed no doubt in the S'aṅgam period itself but they became more numerous and popular in the later epoch. The early religious beliefs and observances are found reflected in the classics, including *Tolkāppiyam*, the work on grammar, which tradition places among the earliest productions of the S'aṅgam. There is no invocation in *Tolkāppiyam* to any God as we find in later works. It is clear that the people of the age believed in a Supreme God and in a three-fold Trinity. But it is remarkable that their Trinity was not identical with that of the Āryans. The early Tamils had belief in several minor gods, too. References to *Daivam*, *Dēvar* and *Imaiyar*, all signifying 'god', indicate this and provide testimony to the Āryan influence. *Muruga* and *Koṟṟavai* appear to have been the most prominent deities of the early Tamils. Temples for *Muruga* were erected on top of hills as well as on the river side. The appearance of Āryan ideas, noticeable in *Tolkōppiyam* and *Puṟanānūṟu*, becomes increasingly prominent. In *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai*, which was chronologically the last of the '*Pattuppāttu*' and which was composed in honour of *Muruga*, the god is identified with *Kārtigēsa*, the Āryan

[65] Canto VI.

[66] The dance which constituted the worship of *Korravai*, the goddess of victory, is vividly described in *Silappadikaram*, Canto XII.

god of six faces and twelve arms. *Koṟṟavai*, the war-goddess of the Tamils, merges into the Āryan goddess *Durga*. A similar process is noticed in respect of several other deities. But it is still an open question whether the *S'iva* of the Draviḍians was adopted by the Āryans and given a new position in their pantheon. One thing is clear. A fusion, particularly marked in the sphere of religion, was taking place between the Tamilian and Āryan ideas and practices and this fusion became more and more marked as time passed.

When we come to the period of the twin epics, we notice the full-fledged fusion of Āryan and Draviḍian religious practices. In addition to the gods already worshipped by the people there now figured *Balarāma*,[67] *Varuna* and *Indra*. *Dēvi* was worshipped not only in the form of *Koṟṟavai* but also as *Lakṣmi*, *Sarasvati* and *Pārvati*.

Thus Tamil literature, which constitutes the only source of information, provides valuable data for the social history of the people. Care has to be taken, however, in utilising them, particularly in relation to chronology. The basic conditions as revealed by the S'aṅgam classics, together with the changes reflected in the 18 minor works and the epics, can be reconstructed with a fair measure of accuracy. It is important in this connection to remember that the literature of a particular period not only portrays contemporary life and events but may also embody in it earlier traditions. And a clear sifting of the one from the other is not always easy. Thus, subject to all these limitations, the social history of the early Tamils is possible to be reconstructed with the help of their literature.

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[67] *Silappadikaram*, Canto IX, 1. 10.

"Algummim" or "Almuggim" of the Bible

An Attempt at Identification

P. JOSEPH

King Solomon's famous Ophir expedition, fitted out with the help of King Hiram of Tyre and mentioned in several passages of the Bible[1], according to the general consensus of scholarly opinion, went to a place in western India. Among the various goods that were taken back by the expedition to Judaea was an article, given the curious Hebrew name of "algummim" or "almuggim". The only thing that we know definitely from the implication of the biblical passages is that by "algummim" or "almuggim" was meant a particular type of tree. Hence various speculations have arisen with regard to its identification and in each case a different derivation has been given to the word in question.

Some have tried to find in algum the sandalwood tree of India. This identification was first hinted at in the last century by the famous Swedish botanist Celsius[2]. He attempted to specify what Kimetu, a biblical writer of the 13th century, meant by his explanation of the algum wood when he called it the Brazil wood, which later on Abul Fazl said was a native of India and Ethiopia[3]. Celsius knew that traditionally an odorous wood was signified by the algum; he knew too that the odorous wood could not be the frankincense tree for it did not grow very much in India which had tradionally been bestowed the honour of receiving Solomon's expedition. He, therefore, looked for an Indian

[1] III *Kings*, IV, 26-28; *Ibid.*, X, 11, 22; II *Chronicles*, VIII, 17-18; *Ibid.*, IX, 10, 21.
[2] Celsius, *Hierobotanicon*, I, 176.
[3] Keil, *Commentary on the Books of Kings*, I, p. 154.

tree that would best answer the algum and proposed the case of the Santalum album, the genuine Indian sandalwood, that grows in a natural state along the western coast of India.

From the time of Celsius those who have propounded an Indian locale for Ophir have tried to derive algum etymologically from a word of an Indian language meaning sandalwood.

Lassen and MaxMuller[1] derive algum from the Sanscrit *Valguka* which is itself a derivative of *Valg* meaning beauty. *Valguka*, therefore, primarily means beauty and secondarily sandalwood. Those who sponsor the above derivation say that *Valg* has been borrowed by the Tamil language that has added its common termination *um* and got *valgum.* When the Jews took up the word they dropped the initial consonant and thus got *algum* and by metathesis, which is a very common process when words are borrowed from one language into another, they turned it into *almug.* Those who stand for a pure Tamil derivation[2] of the word *algum* have derived it from *alagu* meaning primarily beauty and secondarily sandalwood. According to them the Sanscrit word *valguka* is derived from *alagu*, a purely Tamil word.

Objections have been raised to the above identification. Traditionally the algum wood, although not specified botanically, yet has been interpreted to mean some kind of not merely odorous but also resinous wood. The sandalwood, although odorous is not resinous. Again Celsius seems to have overlooked the uses to which the algum wood has been put by Solomon. The sacred writer says that it was used for staircases with bannisters in the temple and the king's palace, and for musical instruments like guitars

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1 Lassen, *Indische Alterthumscunde*, I, pp. 651-652; Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p. 234.

2 Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages.*

and harps for the temple singers[1]. The sandalwood is not generally used for these purposes[2], because it is rather brittle and is not amenable to polish, which would to a great extent be required if a wood is to be put to the uses that have been noted.

Some have propounded the case of *Aquilaria Agallocha,* which is both odorous and resinous[3]. It is a very valuable wood and costlier than even the sandalwood. In addition to the fact that it answers the traditional interpretation of the algum it had the special claim of being imported into Judaea in later times and was the *lignum aloes* of the scriptures.

As for the etymological explanation of algum in this identification there are two slightly different opinions. Some derive it from the Sanscrit *aguru* or *agaru* while others from the Tamil *agil*. The Sanscrit word is said to come from *a* + *guru* ; *a* — privative, and *guru* —heavy. Hence *aguru* would mean a light wood. Another derivation too is given. *Laghu* or *Lauha*, a Sanscrit and Pali synonym meaning light is given as the root of *agaru*. The Tamil word *agil* is derived from *ahk* + *il*, — *ahk* — having a pungent odour from the idea of being close or stuffy[4]. The Tamil derivation seems to be more reasonable in view of the odorous nature of the material. As the tree concerned is an Indian tree, it would easily appear that the Aryans got the word *agaru* from *agil,* when they came to India. The derivatives in the various languages make really an interesting study. Malayalam has *akil* ; Tulu *agel, agela* ; Sinhalese *agil, agamu* ; Pali *agalu* ; Sanscrit *agaru, aguru* ; Hebrew *ahalim ;* Greek *agallochon ;* Portuguese *aguila,* from which the Latin botanical name *aquilaria,* and the English

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1 III *Kings*, X, 11-12 ; Keil, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161 ; Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, VII, 1.

2 Crawford, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, p. 310.

3 Cf. Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, pp. 72-74 ; Gamble, *A Manual of Indian Timbers*, p. 316.

4 Cf. Gnanaprakasar, *An Etymological and Comparative Lexicon of the Tamil Language*, I, Pt. I, s.v. *Akil*.

eagle-wood, (Aquila — eagle in Latin)[1]. It is clear, therefore, that the two parts of the botanical name of this tree, viz. Aquilaria agallocha, are derived from the same root.

The most serious objection to the above identification is that although the *Aquilaria agallocha* might answer the traditional interpretation of algum, i.e., an odorous and resinous wood, yet it could not be put to the uses to which the algum was put by Solomon. The eaglewood is very porous and hence soft because it is very highly resinous. The resin collects itself at the heart of the wood and this portion can be used only for burning and medicinal purposes and not for staircases with bannisters, harps and guitars. The very origin in Sanscrit denotes this nature of the wood, namely its lightness. Yet another reason why the Ophir expedition could not have got this wood is that it grows only in Bhutan, Assam, Eastern Bengal, Burma and Malay Peninsula and Archipelago[2]. It is not found in the western coast of India, where alone we can reasonably suppose Solomon's men to have gone.

Hence another wood will have to be found. This should answer the following conditions: It should be resinous and odorous according to the traditional interpretation, mentioned in the Bible, and should grow on the western coast of India.

A word must be said about the traditional interpretation of the algum wood, for that only can give us a clue to the real nature of the wood that is here intended. The Septuagint version of the Book of Kings (III *Kings*, X, 12) translates algum wood as *Zila* (wood) *peleketa* or *apeleketa*. This gives no information at all as to the nature of the

[1] Yule-Burnell, *Hobson Jobson*, s. v. Eagle-wood. This word must not be confused with another namely aloe, wrongly called also eagle-wood. This is a bitter drug and its origin is from the Syriac *elwat*. This confusion introduced by the later Greek writers was taken up by the Portuguese and has persisted till to-day.

[2] Watt, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

wood. But the Septuagint version of the Chronicles in the corresponding passage has rendered *algum* as *Zila penkina,* which strictly means fir-wood. The explanation of Josephus, the Jewish historian, is very illuminating and hence can bear quoting. He says, " The wood which was brought to him at this time was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before ; but let no one imagine that these pine trees were like those which are now so named, and which take their denomination from the merchants, who so call them that they may procure them to be admired by those that purchase them ; for those we speak of were to the sight like the wood of the big tree, but were whiter and more shining. Now we have said this much, that nobody may be ignorant of the difference between these sorts of wood, nor unacquainted with the nature of the genuine pine tree ; and we thought it both a reasonable and humane thing when we mentioned it, and the use the King made of it, to explain this difference so as we have done "[1] The Vulgate translation is *Thyina* (*Thion, Thia*). According to Theophrastus this tree is particularly durable and its timber was used for the roofs of temples. He says again that it is an ever-green like the wild cypress and should be classed with the fir, the pine, the juniper, the yew and the cedar.

The above given Septuagint and Vulgate tradition elucidated by Josephus and Theophrastus shows that the algum is an ever-green belonging to the cedar family, quite big, resinous, hard and durable. Because of its hardness and durability it could be put to the uses to which it was put by Solomon. As Theophrastus himself says, it was made use of for the roofs of the temples. The tree that answers this description best in India is the *Chick-rassia Tabularis.* It is quite big and a very hard wood, capable of high polish and of being tempered in such a way as to

[1] Josephus, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

well refract sounds to the ear. So it could be turned into staircases with bannisters, guitars and harps. It is also resinous and belongs to the cedar family being known as white cedar, as the traditional interpretation requires. And it is found in southern India along the western coast.

What is more, it bears the Tamil name of *Agil,* and hence algum can be derived from it by making *g* and *l* interchange places. The reason for the name in Tamil can be easily seen from its derivation. *Akh* means to be close together. The pores of a tree being close render the heartwood hard, and that is the case with the tree in question. In Tamil it is also called *madagari-vembu* ; in Telugu too it is known by the same name, while in Kannada it is called *Dal-mara.*

The description of the tree given by Watt answers the requirements so well that a quotation may be excused. "The Chittagong wood or white cedar, *Chikrassi, lal-devdar, saiphra, saipropaon, pabba, aglay, agil, dalmara, yinma,* etc. A beautiful tree met with in the tropical forests from Sikkim to Chittagong and Burma, and from the Konkan and Deccan to Mysore, Malabar and Ceylon.

"It yields a beautiful yellowish-brown richly veined satiny timber, suitable for furniture, piano-cases, tables, etc. Gamble remarks that it deserves to be better known and exported from convenient localities like Chittagong, where it chances to be plentiful. It also yields a transparent yellow gum, an astringent bark (used medicinally), and flowers that afford both a red and yellow dye "[1].

To the above description may be added a few words from Gamble : "A large tree . . . . Heartwood hard, ... with a beautiful satin lustre, seasons and works well "[2].

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1 Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 294.
2 Gamble, op. cit., p. 76.

Kamba Ramayanam

Hiranya-Vadai-Padalam or the Slaying of Hiranya

V. SHANMUGA MUDALIAR

By his penance, rare and hard,
Hiranya, the Asura king,
This immunity got :—
  " He will not die—
 Either by male or female,
   or that which is neither ;
 Or by anything in the womb living ;
 Or by things or beings,
   seen by the eye
   or conceived by the mind ;
 Nor can his death
  on Earth or in the air befall ! St. 14

  " He will not die—
 Either by any of the gods
   or the wandering Yekkas ;
 Or by the Murthis
   whom all can conceive and contemplate ;
 Or by man !
 Nor can he, fighting them,
   His strength lose ! St. 15

  " He will not die—
 Either in water or by fire,
   storm, or other force on Earth !
 And the curses of the discerning gods,
 The sages and others,
 Him cannot touch,
 But on the cursers recoil ! St. 16

  " He will not die—
 Either indoor or in the open ;
 Or by the weapons of the gods ;

Or in the night or in the day !
Nor can Yama, the God of Death,
his death claim !
Oh ! Who's there who can his life take ? St. 17

" He will not die—
Either by anything
The five elements produce
Or the Vedas proclaim !
Or even by his own hand
If self-killing he sought ! "
Such was Hiranya,
The Ruler Of all Universe ! St. 18

To such august ruler
There was a dear son,
Wiser than the wise,
And purer than all those
For purity known ;
Nay, purer than the Vedas even !
One who was a Master,
A Philosopher, unique,
And of Dharma, the Lord !
One who with a mother's love
All living beings loved ! St. 19

Hiranya wishes to put his son to school and for this purpose asks a very learned, wise Brahmin to instruct him in the ' Vedas '.

The Brahmin teacher,
In due solemnity,
His father's name
Bids him invoke !
At this blasphemy
The son with his fingers
Plugs his ears ;
And, instead, utters
" Om Namo Narayana ",
The name of the true God,
The summit of the Vedas ! St. 22 & 23

Trembling the Tutor cries :
" Oh, Miserable sinner !
Thou hast ruined me
And thyself too !
Leaving that name,
The fittest to invoke
Even for the gods,
Why didst thou
The other name utter ?
How did it thy head enter ? " St. 24

" What's wrong ? Tell me ",
Says the boy,
" By uttering the great name
Proclaimed by the hoary Vedas
I have but saved me,
My father and thee,
And all the world too ! " St. 25

The Brahmin replies :
" Thy father is greater
Than the foremost
Among the gods and the Murthis !
And I'm the Brahmin
To chant his holy name
Authorised. Dost thou know
Better than I ?
Ruin me not, I beg thee,
Uttering that other name ? " St. 26

Hearing this the boy says :
" I know no name
Other than that
Of that our being,
The primal Lord of Creation !
To learn else I have no need,
For there's nothing
That my understanding
Hath not me taught ! " St. 27

And he proceeds :
" He who the limit sets
To the Great Entity
The four Vedas proclaim—

He hath my heart
Entered and filled!
Such great possession
There can be none other!
If thou knowest any,
That I do not know,
Teach me, Truth and Justice
Not violating. St. 28

"He whose name the Brahmins
In Vedas versed chant;
He whose name the Upanishads,
The sages and the gods
Loudly proclaim;
Is there any name
Other than this
That can be uttered? St. 29

"He is my Lord,
And the Lord of Brahma,
And of the highest of all,
And of all other objects,
Moving and standing,
In creation!
Than this to thee also
There's nothing
That's of greater good!" St. 33

The Brahmin is dumb-founded. He goes and tells Hiranya of all that has happened. Hiranya asks him what is that forbidden name which his son dared to utter. The Brahmin is scared out of his wits and exclaims:

"Sire, were I to utter
That sinful name,
I would to hell go,
And my tongue, burnt,
Would fall out!" St. 37

Hiranya sends his men to fetch his son. When he comes, he asks him to tell him the word by uttering which he gave such offence to the teacher. Prahalada, the son, replies:—

"He who all one's desires grants;
He who the liberated leads to Heaven;
He who accepts the sacrifices
At the red-flamed fire offered;
It is that great one's name
That I uttered. It is,
'OM NAMO NARAYANA.'" St. 42

Hiranya thunders at him:

"There's my sovereign decree
That from that day till I live
The mouth that utters
And the mind that dwells
On that name, will be burnt!
Who told thee this name?
And from whom didst thou learn it?
Tell me quickly." St. 47

"The sages, gods and others
That the three worlds inhabit—
All these my feet contemplate,
And my name praise and chant!
They dare not teach thee this.
From whom, then, didst thou learn it? St. 48

"The elders and others of our clan,
Countless far than the sands of the sea,
By his killing their number hath dwindled.
Doth thy wisdom tell thee, boy,
That by invoking the serpent's name
The rat will great good attain? St. 50

"Assuming the guise of the Boar,
With his tusk he killed my brother—
A hero of such wondrous might
That the fourteen worlds
He could in his belly keep!
Is it for chanting the killer's name
That I thee begat? St. 51

"Oh, foolish boy!
Dost thou not know
The Vedic truth is
None other than this:

That it is by doing
And not by reasoning
That one becomes supreme—
The Lord of all
And of everything
And of the Universe,
Worthy to perform the three-fold function
Of creating, sustaining and destroying ? St. 52

"In this great world
There's nothing of beginning
And end but this :
Those that good deeds do
Will become great,
And those that evil do
Will low become !
That's the Law the Vedas teach ! St. 53

"By their great penance
Brahma, Vishnu and Siva
Had their position attained ;
But this they have now lost ;
And I have by penance
The rulership of the world
Assumed ! Who can dare
Enter my domain and say
That my rule decline will suffer ? St. 54

"Foolish child !
Thy error I forgive thee.
But cease talking
Such things again ;
Else I will be angry.
Now go, and whatever
Thou art taught,
Taking it as good,
Learn." St. 56

Thus admonished Prahalada addresses his father solemnly thus :

"He that hath in his mind
All the worlds conceived ;
He in whom the worlds exist ;

He that indwells in the worlds ;
He that hath none before
Nor none after him ;
He that is supreme ;
He that is changeless ;—
Oh ! Who can His ancient state know ? St. 59

" As the three worlds ;
As the three qualities ;
As anything and everything ;—
Of such infinite variety
Is His being !
Can even the sages and gods
His doings understand ? St. 62

" Can an action
Its result escape ?
Having created the two Karmas—
The good and the bad—
They the intended results,
And none other, show !
Of His grace and mercy
What better evidence is needed ? St. 67

" He's greater than the Earth,
The Air and the other three elements ;
He is beyond Thought and Count !
And from the naked eye
He is hidden !
But if sought truthfully
And with all one's feeling
Himself He will reveal ! St. 71

" Of Desire, Anger and other passions,
Hard and evil, He rids us ;
And His name all mishap averts
Even as it great good brings !
Oh ! How can others
Of His Grace speak ? St. 73

" He is Time, Cause and Place ;
He is the result that from action flows ;
He is the agent who the results implements ;
He is Virtue and the great good it brings ;
He is the seed and the big tree out of it comes ! St. 74

"Such is the Great One
Whose name I invoked!
And I but did so
Lest thy great wealth and fame,
Won thro' much self-abasement,
And thy life, thou lose!" St. 78

Hiranya is in a mighty rage, and says:

"Other enemy I need none,
Thanks to my Fate!
He that hath out of my blood come,
Loving allegiance to my limitless enemy
Hath not hinted, but sweareth!
Kill me this miscreant,"
And those in killing Yama excel,
Catch and bind Prahalada! St. 80

The executioners ply their swords on his body but Prahalada, fixing his mind on the Lord and chanting his holy name, goes unhurt. The executioners go and report this extraordinary phenomenon to Hiranya, who then orders that he be burnt alive. A huge fire fed by huge pails of oil is made, and Prahalada is thrust into it. Here again, invoking the Lord's name, Prahalada does not feel the effects of fire and is untouched. He is next ordered to be thrown into a snake pit—to be bitten by the eight deadly serpents of the world. They come, hiss and bite, but he is unhurt. Next he is taken to a mad elephant, to be trampled and killed by it. Prahalada remains as before serenely calm, invoking the Lord's name thus:—

"When of old the Elephant,
In dread of the crocodle killing him,
Cried out to 'Audhi Mulam'—
The origin and source of all—
He who both a father and mother is,
To his rescue came!
The same doth in my mind dwell!" St. 93

Hardly has this been uttered, before the elephant bows before Prahalada and departs peacefully. This exasperates Hiranya who orders the erring elephant to be killed. It is

chased and harried by a host of hunters, but it turns against them, killing several and wounding many others. Foiled in this, Hiranya finally orders that Prahalada be thrown into the deep sea securely tied to a heavy stone, but he is not drowned. Prahalada is taken to Hiranya, whom he addresses thus :—

"Father ! My life to take
If thou thinkest,
Know it isn't possible.
My life only He can take,
Who all the world
Hath created !" St. 118

Hiranya bursts out :
"Who is it, boy,
That this world gave ?
If it isn't the three Murthis
Who chanting my name live,
Or the sages, or the wholly beaten gods,
Who is it, tell me ?" St. 119

To which Prahalada replies :

"My Lord, the Supreme God,
If thou canst see with my eyes
Thou wilt see Him everywhere !
But thou dost not feel
That to banish love from thy heart
Is deadly sin. Is it easy, then,
With thy eyes to see Him ? St. 120

"Three are His qualities ;
Three His action and form ;
Three are His eyes
And the flame of His spirit ;
And three are His worlds !
And He is the witness
Of all existence,
At the beginning, middle and end !
This the conclusion
The Vedas arrive,
And it is the Truth" St. 122

Hearing this Hiranya bursts into a loud laugh, exposing his huge teeth, and says :—

" Thou sayest
Thy supreme one
In all things indwells.
I'll with him deal
When I see him.
Doth He, this thief,
In this pillar dwell ?
If so prove it."

" Yes, Father," saye he,
" He is in the span,
Nay, in the hundredth part
Of the atom too !
He is in the high Meru
And He is in this pillar here !
Yea, in the word just uttered
He is there too !
His universal presence
Thou wilt presently see ! " St. 124

Hiranya cries out, in a rage ;

" Him whom the gods
And thou see spread
All over the world,
In this pillar show !
If thou showest him not,
Like the lion killing the elephant,
I'll kill thee, and drinking
Thy red blood, thy flesh
I'll eat too ! " St. 125

To which Prahalada replies :

" My life it isn't easy
For thee to kill.
But if the One
I've spoken of
Doth not appear
At any and every spot
Thou touchest, my life
I'll myself take !
To wish to live after that
Would be to own myself
As no loving servant of His ! " St. 126

Hiranya, his anger mounting,
Exclaims laughing :

"This is good, very good!"
And raising his mighty arm,
For victory famed,
At the pillar smote he!
And lo! at that very moment,
Tearing open the Universe,
Wildly laughed the Red-eyed Lion! St. 127

When the wise Prahalada—
He who of God's existence
Proof promised—
When he saw Him,
Whom even the Brahma,
Daily searching,
Could not see,
He danced, he wept,
He sang and cried aloud,
And raising his hands o'er his head,
He prayed, and in his ecstacy
He jumped and stamped all over the Universe!
St. 128

Hiranya addresses the Lion :

"Thou who art laughing!
Who art thou?
Art thou the Hari
This boy hath mentioned?
Was not the sea
Thou hadst cunningly entered
Sufficient that this tall pillar
Thou shouldst seek?
Fight if thou wouldst;
I'm ready, come;
Come soon!" St. 129

The pillar burst,
And out came the Lion!
And his size grew and grew
Until the eight corners
And all the rest of the Universe
He measured!

Oh ! Who can know and describe
What afterwards he did ?
The Universe was torn,
At top and bottom, both ! St. 130

The Lion, in his fierce mood, kills all the Asuras, and finally stands ready to fight Hiranya. The latter drawing his sword is poised for attack. Seeing this Prahalada approaches his father and says :—

" Thou hast seen
All that hath happened.
Yet in thy heart
Thou feelest nothing !
Go and worship
The mighty Lord of the Sea !
Thy evil deeds
He will forgive ! " St. 145

To which Hiranya replies :

" Hear me ", says he, with bitter laugh,
" Cutting off the Lion's arms and feet
In thy presence and then
Cutting thee to pieces,
I'll my sword worship !
Can other worship be
For such as me
Even when on pacifying
Our sweethearts
We are bent ? " St. 146

Then ensues a terrific fight which lasts until dusk. Then,

At dusk,
At the door of the golden palace,
Holding Hiranya firm on his thighs,
The great Vishnu in Lion's guise,
With his sharp claws,
His iron heart ripped open !
And rid the gods of their misery ! St. 153

Then Prahalada burst into a paean of praise for the Lord Supreme thus :—

" That Thou hast
Thyself created
The great Avatar
Thou hast now taken
Doth proudly show !
Altho' thou art
Thy own creator,
Doth it disprove
That Thou— the Giver of Life—
Hast me created ? St. 157

" Oh Lord, My Father !
In Thee
Thou hast me installed.
Without Thee,
All things and beings
I've in me created !
I've none before
Nor none after me !
I'm like the gold vessel
That hath out of gold come ! ! St. 160

The Lion-God, greatly pleased, suppressing his anger, bids the gods not to be afraid. They invoke the Goddess Lakshmi, who comes to the Lord. All is now peace and grace, and the Lord, turning to Prahalada, says :

" Thy race we will
Nevermore kill,
Even tho' boundless wrongs
They do !
I'm thy friend !
If there's anything
Thou wishest me to do,
Without reserve ask." St. 168

To which Prahalada replies :

" Endless are the boons
I've already got !
Can there be any
I may hereafter get ?

But if more I'm to receive,
This great boon let me have :
' Even were I, My Lord,
To be a humble worm
Without backbone born,
Thy love let me have for ever ! ' " St. 169

The Lord is immensely pleased, and blesses Prahalada thus :

" Even if the Elements,
The first in Creation,
Were to die,
Thou wilt never !
And like Me
Thou wilt ever be ! St. 170

* * * *

" The benefits the world reaps
Worshipping and praising Me,
Let it all these have
Worshipping and praising thee ! St. 171

* * * *

" Dharma, good and pure,
Truth and the Vedas four ;
Compassion and Grace ;
Wisdom boundless ;
Wealth of all kinds ;
The ancient god of the eight-fold quality ;
Let all these
Thy command await !
And as my own Self,
May thou grow
Into a shining image
Of the Almighty ! " St. 173

News and Notes

LONDON TAMIL SANGHAM

Dr. Sekhar elected President

London, April 18.

The London Tamil Sangam this week elected Dr. B. C. Sekhar, who has been resident here for several years, as its president.

It also elected office-bearers and an Executive Committee on which are members from Ceylon, Nyasaland, South Africa, Burma and India. Mrs. Gnanam Swaminathan, wife of Mr. T. Swaminathan, Minister at the Indian High Commission, was elected Vice-President.

The report of the Secretary, presented at the annual meeting, said that notwithstanding difficulties, the Sangam was fairly active in 1956 in organising almost every month " social and cultural functions ".

Building fund

The report referred to a proposal that the Sangham should have its own building in London. Certain donations had been paid for the building fund, and the report said : " It is up to the new Executive Committee to carry out this long-felt desire of the Sangham."

The report urged that it was necessary to enlarge the membership of the Sangham.

Following the annual meeting, the Sangham celebrated Tamil New Year Day with a feast, and a programme of

music, bharata natyam by Mrs. Leila Raman, and the presentation of a Tamil play by members from Ceylon.

The London Tamil Sangham was formed in 1954.

—*The Mail,* April 18, 1957.

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

A SPECIAL CHAIR IN TAMIL INSTITUTED

EXPERT COMMITTEE TO ADVISE NEW DEPARTMENT

Annamalainagar, April 8.

The Annamalai University has instituted a special Çhair in Tamil. Important schemes relating to Tamil language, literature and generally Tamil culture in all its aspects are to be worked out.

The immediate programme now undertaken includes research in comparative philology, and preparation of an etymological dictionary and an English-Tamil dictionary.

The Syndicate of the University has appointed a committee of distinguished experts in linguistics and philology to advise, guide and direct the work in this new department, with Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Chairman, West Bengal Legislative Council and Professor Emeritus of Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta, as its Chairman.

MEMBERS

The members of the committee are Dr. S. M. Katre, Director, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona ; Mr. A. Subbiah Pillai, Vice-President, Academy of Tamil Culture, Nungambakkam; Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, Professor of Tamil, Madras University ; Mr. L. P. Kr. Ramanathan Chettiar, Professor of Tamil (Oriental), Annamalai University ; Dr. A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar, Professor of Tamil (Arts), Annamalai University ; Mr. G. Subramania Pillai, Professor of Tamil Research, Annamalai University ; Mr. T. P. Meenakshisundaram

Pillai, Chief Professor of Tamil, Presidency College, Madras; Mr. T. N. Srikantiah, Professor of Kannada, Karnataka University, Dharwar; Mr. Korada Ramakrishna Aiyah, Madras; Mr. M. P. Narayana Menon, Retired Chief Inspector of Certified Schools, Madras; Dr. M. Varadarajan, Professor of Tamil, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras; Dr. M. Rajamanikkam Pillai, Professor of Tamil, Thiagarajar College, Madurai; and Mr. P. Thirugnanasambandam, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras.

Mr. G. Devaneya Pavanar, Reader in Comparative Philology will be Secretary of this Committee.

PROGRAMME TO BE DRAWN UP

The inaugural meeting of the committee is to be held today at Annamalai University. The committee is expected to continue its sittings on April 9 and 10 also. Several distinguished scholars in Tamil and in other Dravidian and classical languages have been invited from Madras and other States to attend the meeting.

The committee, guided as it is by an outstanding authority on philology in the country and composed of distinguished experts in linguistics and scholars in Tamil and other languages of the Dravidian family and Sanskrit, is expected to consider important problems of philology and linguistics, and draw up a programme of work which may be pursued in the Department of Philology of Annamalai University.

—*The Mail*, April 8, 1957.

TOUR OF TAMIL DRAMATIC TEAM IN MALAYA

Madras, April 7.

Mr. T. K. Shanmugham and the members of his troupe who are shortly leaving for Malaya to stage a series of dramas were entertained at a party last evening at Woodlands Hotel, Mylapore, by the members of the South Indian

Artistes' Sangam and Nataka Kazhagam and Nageswaram Vidwans' Association.

Mr. K. Subramanyam, President of the Nagaswara Vidwans' Association and Mr. N. S. Krishnan, President of the South Indian Artistes' Sangam and Nataka Kazhagam, referred to the services rendered by Mr. Shanmugham in the cause of Tamil drama and wished him success in his tour of Malaya.

Mr. S. A. Ayyaswami Chetti, Chief Presidency Magistrate, Egmore, said Mr. Shanmugham and his brother were the ambassadors of Tamil drama and culture.

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister, who presided, said the glory of reviving Tamil drama to its high position was largely due to Mr. Shanmugham's untiring and devoted work. Dramas should always be of high order, capable of spreading lofty ideals among the people. He was sure the people and the Government in this part of the country would give encouragement to good dramas.

Messrs. P. Ramamurthy and Natesan then spoke. Mr. Shanmugham replied suitably. Mr. Krishnan proposed a vote of thanks.

—*The Hindu*, April 7, 1957.

Penang, April 20.

The members of the T.K.S. Brothers dramatic troupe were warmly received by several hundred fans to-day as they arrived in Penang on the "State of Madras".

The boat had scarcely berthed alongside Swettenham pier, when autograph hunters rushed for the gangway. As they came down representatives from Penang Indian clubs and associations were among the big crowd which waited at the pier.

—*The Hindu*, April 22, 1957.

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(,, calm)
இ	—	i	(,, sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(,, machine)
உ	—	u	(,, full)
ஊ	—	u:	(,, rule)
எ	—	e	(,, fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(,, able)
ஐ	—	ai	(,, aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(,, opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(,, opium)
ஔ	—	au	(,, now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(,, church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(,, card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	த	—	th	(,, threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(,, pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(,, atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex- articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(,, sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(,, angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(,, urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(,, anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(,, mate)
	ன	—	n	(,, enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(,, yard)
	ர	—	r	(,, red)
	ல	—	l	(,, leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(,, very)
	ழ	—	l-	(,, ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(,, hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x	(,, ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

   e.g., பக்கம் - is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

   e.g., பங்கம் - is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் - ,, panjam, not pancam,

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எஃகு ,, ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of **t** : which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil = Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

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(See Rule 8)

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6.	Names and Addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital.	The Academy of Tamil Culture

I, M. Varadarajan, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

For The Academy of Tamil Culture

M. VARADARAJAN

Date: 17—4—1957

Signature of Publisher.

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants k	c	t:	th	p	t	Soft consonants ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	Medium consonants y	r	l	v	l-	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	ற	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஆ a:	ா to the right of the consonant	கா					றா			ணா			னா						
இ i	ி to be *joined* at the top — right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ீ to be *joined* at the top — right of consonant	கீ																	
உ u	a semi-circle, a vertical stroke or a loop to be *joined* to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	று	ஙு	ஞு	ணு	நு	மு	னு	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழு	ளு
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	றூ	ஙூ	ஞூ	ணூ	நூ	மூ	னூ	யூ	ரூ	லூ	வூ	ழூ	ளூ
எ e	ெ to the left of the consonant	கெ																	
ஏ e:	ே to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ை to the left of the consonant	கை								ணை			னை			லை			ளை
ஒ o	ெ to the left & ா to the right of the consonant	கொ					றொ			ணொ			னொ						
ஓ o:	ே to the left & ா to the right	கோ					றோ			ணோ			னோ						
ஔ au	ெ to the left & ள to the right	கௌ																	
மெய் pure consonants	ˆ or · on the top of the consonant	க்																	

Note.—(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel அ (a) has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under க (k) are shown as a guide; in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under க (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.

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The Western Influence on Tamil Prose

K. K. PILLAY

I

It is a matter of pride and joy for all lovers of Tamil that the University of Madras has conferred the much-esteemed Degree of Doctor of Letters on '*Chollin Chelvar*', Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai. An ardent scholar and an assiduous worker in the cause of Tamil, Dr. Sethu Pillai has played a worthy role in the field of higher education and research in Tamil for well over three decades. He adorned at first the Tamil Department of the Annamalai University and has been adorning for the last two decades that of the Madras University. A brilliant and inspiring speaker, he has acquired great reputation through his lectures to students as well as to the wider public outside. It is accepted on all hands that Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai is the master of a simple and charming style. If Tamil means sweetness, Dr. Pillai exemplifies it in an abundant measure through his enchanting power of expounding ideas. His choice diction has an unfailing musical effect. His phrases are invariably rhythmical and are always pleasing to the ear. Immensely resourceful and elegantly humorous, he has kept vast multitudes of listeners spell-bound through his skilful elucidation of themes of Tamil literature, drawing effortlessly from his perennial fountain of knowledge. *Tirukkuṛaḷ*, *Chilappadikāram* and *Kambarāmāyaṇam* are perhaps his favourite classics, but he is equally at home with other works and themes of Tamil literature as well. A brilliant and entertaining conversationalist, he spices his conversations, no less than his speeches and writings with appropriate illustrations and anecdotes from the boundless body of Tamil literature. Simple and affable, courteous

and cheerful, but always dignified and elegant, he is the embodiment of all that is best in the ripe old Tamil culture.

Many and varied are the subjects concerning Tamil language and literature on which he has conducted intensive researches. *Words and their Significance, Tamiḻaham —Ūrum Pērum, Tiruvaḷḷuvar-Nūlnayam* and *Chilappadikāra-Nūlnayam,* as well as works which examine the distinctive features of Tamil and of the Tamilians like *Tamiḻar Vīram, Tamiḻ Inbam, Tamiḻ Virundu* and those which seek to assess the contributions of the Western savants to the development of Tamil are some of the numerous themes on which he has furnished valuable additions to knowledge. The modern school of Tamil scholars, of whom Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai is an outstanding representative, has brought to bear the knowledge of English thought and literary forms on the investigations into Tamil literature. It would not perhaps be inappropriate on this occasion of rejoicing on the conferment of the D.Litt. Degree on Professor Sethu Pillai that an attempt is made to estimate the influence of Western contact on the development of Tamil Prose.

II

Time was, and that, not too long ago, when it was considered a mortal sin against patriotism to speak of the benefits of the Western, and particularly of the English influence on Indian life and culture. Fortunately after India has secured her independence, the attitude has considerably changed for the better, and an impartial approach to questions of this kind is now possible. But another obstacle still persists. There is a vociferous school of thought which discredits and deplores all ideas of external influence on Tamil language and literature. Obviously this attitude is the outcome of a mistaken sense of prestige and a misdirected linguistic chauvinism. Immunity from external contact in the development of a language is by no means a virtue in itself. Assimilation of new ideas and

literary patterns is normally a healthy tendency which contributes to the virility and growth of a language and its literature. Isolation and imperviousness to external contact have led to the stagnation and decadence of many a social institution. Those who have developed an exaggerated and sentimental pride in their own culture and who have sedulously shut their eyes to the rest of the world have rarely escaped the force of degeneracy. It is worthwhile recalling that centuries ago, the acute scholar, Alberuni, observed that the Hindus of his time had too lofty an estimate of their own institutions. This self-complacency has been hardly conducive to their progress.

To realize the need for contact with others outside is by no means to suggest that the individuality of any particular language or institution should be allowed to be stifled by extraneous influence. It is perfectly understandable that the utmost vigilance should be exercised lest the external elements smother the distinctive merits of a language. It cannot be maintained that such a menace threatens Tamil now. In fact, the great merit of Tamil has been its capacity to absorb and assimilate the foreign elements and yet preserve its marked individuality. That reveals clearly the intrinsic resilience of Tamil, which is one of the world's earliest languages. The genius of a language is not comprised in its vocabulary, which might absorb a few words from others on account of intimate association with them. Therefore, neither false notions of prestige nor mistaken apprehensions of the future need handicap the attempt to assess the nature and effects of the Western impact on Tamil.

Though the European contact with South India began about the 16th century, it was only in the 18th and more particularly in the 19th century that the Western influence was felt in the different forms of literary production in Tamil. This feature was by no means peculiar to Tamil, for almost every Indian language felt the impact of the Western ideas and literary forms. The Christian missionaries

played the principal role in this matter. Therefore, it is not surprising that the influence of the West on Tamil was remarkably great, for the activities of the Christian missionaries were much more enormous in the extreme south than in any other part of India. Several distinguished missionaries like Robert de Nobili, Beschi, Caldwell and G. U. Pope devoted themselves first to the study of Tamil and later to the production of works in Tamil. Naturally their proficiency in one or the other of the Western languages influenced their literary activity in Tamil.

The introduction of the printing press was one of their priceless gifts to the country, and it proved to be an effective agency in increasing and popularizing literature. No doubt, the immediate objective of the missionaries was to provide a wide circulation of the Christian literatures, but in course of time, advantage was taken of this new facility to increase vastly the volume of literary production. Many missionaries took enthusiastically to the study of Tamil classics primarily in order to win the esteem of the local people. Thanks to their assiduous application, they succeeded not only in mastering the glorious treasures of Tamil literature, but, what is more important, they began making certain valuable contributions to knowledge through the Tamil medium.

Beginning from the latter part of the 19th century English education was making a marked progress among the intelligentsia of the country. The recipients of this new education read with enthusiasm the works of prominent English poets, novelists and other prose writers. The ideas contained in their works, as well as the literary patterns adopted by them inevitably influenced the Indian readers, particularly the most advanced among them. Before long it created a notable change in the world of literature. The West kindled on the Indian horizon lights that had not existed before. New forms of literary production appeared like the lyric, tragedy, comic opera and one

act play, on the one hand, and the novel, short story, essay, biography and diary on the other.

III

Indeed, prose received the most marked development during the modern age, and it is no exaggeration to state that the modern Tamil prose is essentially a product of the Western influence. In the early ages of Tamil literature, prose had hardly assumed a distinct stature of its own. Introduction, gloss, explanation and interpretations of poems were all that constituted prose in the Sangam age. It has been rightly said that anything that was not poetry passed for prose.[1] Certain prose passages are found interspersed with poetry in such works as Iḷaṅgō's *Chilappadikāram* and Perundēvanār's *Bhāratam*.[2]

From about the 8th century A.D. and more particularly after the 10th century A.D. Tamil prose assumed a notable prominence when several commentaries were written on the early classics. Among the most outstanding of these commentaries may be counted the works of Nakkīrar, Iḷampūranār, Cēnâvaṛayar, Nachinārkiniyār, Aḍiyārkunallār and Parimēlaḷakar. Though these, and later commentaries are products of great skill and profound learning, they are highly ornate and pedantic. At places they are more terse than the originals ; lucidity and readability are conspicuously lacking in the prose of these commentators.

A prose work approaching the modern type in certain respects appeared so late as the 18th century in the shape

[1] Tolkappiyar has prescribed the essential chracteristics of good prose. But very few productions conforming to his prescriptions have come down to us.

[2] It is a moot question whether this pattern of prose, found interspersed with poetry (Urai-idai-itta pattudaic cheyyul), was of indigenous origin or was an imitation of the Sanskrit *Champu*. The theory that Sanskrit and other languages borrowed the *Champu* from Kannada, as held by R. S. Mugali in "The Heritage of Karnataka" (1946) pp. 188-90, does not seem convincing. For one thing, Chilappadikaram is anterior to *Kavirajamarga* which refers to *Gadyakatha*, perhaps allied to the *Champu*. The earliest *Champu* works in Kannada available now are the *Pampabharata* and *Adipurana*, both of the 10th century A.D.

of a semi-historical composition. This is Ānandaraṅgan Piḷḷai's Diary which is written in a plain simple style. But little attention seems to have been paid to the quality of the composition; colloqualisms and local mannerisms appear far too frequently in this work of the so-called the 'Pepys of India', as well as in the continuation of the Diary furnished by Tiruvēṅgaḍam Piḷḷai, the nephew of Ānandaraṅgam Piḷḷai.

Impelled by their objective of capturing the imagination of the masses, the Christian missionaries took freely to writing in prose from about the 18th century. Treatises, pamphlets and exhortations appeared, which were all devoted to the expatiation of their religious doctrines. Simultaneous with this, certain missionaries undertook translations of the celebrated literary works of the West. For instance, there appeared in the 18th century Fr. Schultz's translations of the *Garden of Paradise* and *True Knowledge* which were rendered into what were called respectively as *Paradhi Tōṭṭam* and *Jñāna Kaṇṇāḍi.* Ziegenbalg of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar produced early in the 18th century not only a Tamil grammar but also a Tamil translation of the Bible. However, these early attempts at translation did not prove to be natural or readable. The style of the Tamil language adopted in the translations, too, left much to be desired. Despite these shortcomings, these initial efforts marked the commencement of a new epoch in literary progress.

Among the early prose writers who produced original works in Tamil the prominent leader was the Rev. Robert de Nobili, the founder of the Madurai Jesuit Mission. For about half a century (1606-56) he laboured hard in his missionary activities, in the midst of which he devoted his attention with characteristic zeal to the study and subsequently to the enrichment of Tamil literature. He compiled a Tamil Portuguese Dictionary and wrote several prose works like the *Ātma Niṛṇayam, Kaḍavuḷ Niṛṇayam, Anitya-Nitya-Vityāsam* and *Tattuvakkaṇṇāḍi.* No doubt,

the themes treated in these works pertained exclusively to Christian theology and metaphysics, but they led the way to the later development of secular writings in prose. It must be admitted, however, that Robert de Nobili's style was ornate and artificial, it was interspersed with too many Sanskrit words and idioms. But it is well to remember that this feature was in conformity with the literary convention of his time.

Unquestionably the greatest among the early missionaries who contributed to the development of Tamil literature was the celebrated Fr. Beschi, commonly known as Vīramā Munivar. Applying himself with indomitable zeal between 1710 and 1742 to the learning and subsequently to the production of works in Tamil, he proved himself to be a prolific and powerful writer. There was no branch of Tamil literature which he did not enrich. Prose received particular attention at his hands and though it is an exaggeration to hold that he is the father of modern Tamil prose, as has been suggested, there is little doubt that he made a substantial contribution towards the development of the prose style through his untiring efforts. True, the bulk of his prose works was of a polemical character, primarily intended to ridicule the protestant doctrines which were being popularized by the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar. His *Vēda' Viḷakkam* (Explanation of the Sacred faith), *Vēdiar Oḷukkam* (The code of the conduct of the priests), *Pēdagamuṇarttal* (Rebuttal of Dissent) and *Lūterinattiyalbu* (The Nature of the Lutheran sect) are some of his prominent books in Tamil prose. Though the theological and didactical features dominated these works they were all written in a distinctly improved Tamil style. Force and directness were admirably combined with accuracy and persuasiveness in his mode of expression. Besides, he imported elegant sarcasm into his writings. This is seen at its best in his *Pēdagamuṇarttal* which contains his shrewed and pungent observations on the tenets of the Protestants. Equally interesting is his *Paramārtha Guru-*

katai, a humorous satire on the preposterous pretensions of certain contemporary Maṭādhipathis. His language is at its best in this small book and many of his characteristic expressions found in it have become widely popular in later prose. There is little doubt that Fr. Beschi's prose is decidedly simpler and clearer than that of Rev. Robert de Nobili.

The inspiring lead given by Fr. Beschi was followed up by several other missionaries, the chief of whom was C. T. E. Rhenius. He wrote amidst other prose works, a small book known as the *Vēda Udāraṇa Tiraṭṭu,* which expounds the Christian theology in a lucid and persuasive style. While the missionaries thus contributed to the growth of Tamil prose, they circumscribed the range of writing because their works were confined to the domain of religion and theology. Fortunately the efforts of the Tamilian scholars turned to wider spheres of thought, though they, too, derived their inspiration from Western writers.

Ārumuka Nāvalar of Ceylon was one of the early prose writers who turned to secular subjects besides writing on religious themes. Having translated the Bible and rendered the *Periya Purāṇam, Kanda Purāṇam* and *Tiruviḷayāḍal Purāṇam* into prose he produced a series of text books on a variety of topics for the use of school children. He was also the author of *Saiva Vinā Viḍai* which is a catechism on Hindu religious tenets composed on the Christian model. He adopted a lucid and readable style, although he was frequently obliged to employ Sanskrit words. This feature was, again, in keeping with the trends of his time.

Regarding the subjects written upon, Ārumuka Nāvalar's literary activity marks a period of transition. He still clung to the medieval tendency of devoting great attention to religious themes. But he began to deal with secular subjects in his text books for schools. After his

time the transition to the modern line of approach has become marked. The modern period of Tamil prose, beginning from the last quarter of the 19th century, is a clear break-away from that of the medieval world with its mythological and theological domination. The range of literary effort became widened, and in thus broadening the vision and creating a new sense of values, the Western influence had no small part to play. As a result of this healthy change, a virile literature and new patterns of literary activity began to appear. The Tamil novel which arose in the 19th century was one of the prominent new forms.

IV

To begin with, there appeared translations and adaptations of Western novels. Even when attempts were made at producing original novels, for quite a long time, the inspiration was derived from the Western models. Among the earliest Tamilians who tried their hand at fiction, the foremost was Mayavaram Vedanayakam Pillai, the famous author of *Pratāpa Mudaliār Charitram*. It purports to be the autobiography of a man of affluent circumstances, faced with a variety of strange situations in domestic and social life. This novel has enjoyed a great popularity by virtue of its rollicking wit and realistic pen pictures, interspersed with appropriate proverbs and old saws. His style is simple and direct ; his narrative is lucid and vivacious. Vedanayakam Pillai is justly given a high place among those who contributed to the development of Tamil prose in its initial stage, in the 19th century. He was also the author of less known works like his *Suguṇa Sundari* and *Peṅmati Mālai*, but it is significant that his celebrated *Pratāpa Mudaliār Charitram* as well as the others are all clearly modelled on the simple Addisonian prose of English literature.

Next in order of time came the novels of V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri, a profound Tamil scholar. But, while the

development of the plot shows his originality, as revealed particularly in his *Mati Vāṇan*, the style he adopted was rather stilted and pompous. Saravana Pillai wrote the novel, *Mōhanāṅgi* which proved to be typical of the increasingly popular type of realistic fiction. It is pertinent to observe that the story of *Mōhanāṅgi* was shaped on the pattern of Charles Kingsley's *Hypatia*. Other realistic novels of the period included Srinivasa Aiyangar's *Pāri Tulai* (The Tiller's Daughter) and Rajavelu Chettiyar's *Anbānandam*, but it is well to remember that the plots of these respective novels were derived from contemporary English novels.

In the sphere of realistic fiction woven around the social life of the Tamils, the most outstanding success was achieved by the *Kamalāmbaḷ Charitram* of B. R. Rajam Aiyar, written in the last decade of the 19th century. The author himself states that he took Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* as his model. But it is well to note that the *Kamalāmbāḷ Charitram* proved to be something more than a parrot-like imitation of the original. It was admirably attuned to the Tamilian environment, and even today, this novel has not lost its popularity. The style employed by B. R. Rajam Aiyar has also contributed to its success. He has written it in vigorous prose, though occasionally it tended to become ornate. He has revealed his marvellous power of narrating incidents in quick succession with a tempo and poise that serve to sustain the continued interest of the reader. About the same time there appeared Madhavaiah's *Padmāvati Charitram*, which, as a piece of literary art is superior to *Kamalāmbāḷ Charitram*. Madhavaiah wrote his novels with a purpose. He wanted to employ fiction as an agency of social reform, on the model of Charles Dickens. The style was often more vigorous than that of Rajam Aiyar, and it maintained a higher level of elegance.

The impetus given by these writers to Tamil fiction has been followed by numerous others since the beginning

of this century. Alongside with many original novels, there have continued to appear translations and adaptations of foreign works. It is interesting to observe that besides Western novels like those of Tolstoy and Hardy, Scott and Dickens, novels which had appeared in Bengali and other Indian languages, too, have been adapted into Tamil. Natesa Sastri adapted English novels like *The Massacre of Glencoe* and *Mrs. Candle's Curtain Lectures.* His own independent novel, *Dīnadayāḷu*, woven around the typical joint family, is realistic and interesting. His style, however, is ponderous and overladen with pedantic expressions. A simpler and more lucid type of prose was adopted by Ponnuswamy Pillai, Arni Kuppuswami Mudaliar, Vaduvur Doraiswami Aiyangar and others who either adapted or closely imitated the works of the well-known English novelist, G. W. M. Reynolds. Tamil fiction became popular at their hands. Though they seem to have cared more for the plot than for the style, on the whole, they, too, have contributed to the growth of Tamil prose.

In very recent times historical novels like the *S'ivakāmiyin S'apadam* and *Pārtipan Kanavu* have been written by Kalki based on local setting against the background of the Pallava and Chola empires of old. The historical novel provides ample scope for narration and thus for the development of prose. Kalki adopted a simple and lucid style in a humanistic vein, but never sacrificing elegance and equipoise. Besides the historical novels he has written other novels like *Tyāgabhūmi, Alai Ōs'ai,* and he was also a Tamil journalist of a high order. Though he has followed Western writers in respect of the plot, he has woven the stories in his own way. His style of writing has inspired several of his younger contemporaries and thus he has contributed to the development of Tamil prose in no small measure.

Now there appear quite a large number of realistic novels and several promising writers have risen in the field. The increasing popularity of the novel has its direct influ-

ence on the growth of the prose. However, it is not always that a high standard of elegance is maintained either in respect of the plot or of the style. The fantastic taste of the Talkie fans and the imitation of certain low types of Western novels have adversely affected the patterns of the novels and short stories as well as their prose style. Occasionally the attempt at employing pure Tamil is noticeable. While this by itself is a welcome feature, more often than not, the style is wasted on unworthy themes, and hence it becomes an artificial and stilted misfit.

V

The short story is essentially a product of modern times, and it owes its inspiration almost exclusively to the West. Though the *Tolkāppiyam* speaks of a pattern of prose suited to story writing and though stories occasionally occur in certain classics, the short story as such is a feature of recent development. In this sphere, too, Fr. Beschi led the way, but it has proved immensely popular at the hands of the Tamil writers of this century. Sporadic attempts made by V. V. S. Aiyar and Marai Malai Adikal have been ably followed up by writers like 'Kalki', 'Pudumai Pittan', Rajagopalan and a host of others. Now the writers of short stories are a legion. The didactic feature of many of the earlier stories was far too obtrusive. But, more recently the writers employ realistic themes, based on situations of every day life, particularly of the middle class society. The despicable lot of the widow, the overbearing tyranny of the mother-in-law, the pitiable position of the unemployed among the educated, the consequences of the disintegration of the traditional joint family system—these and similar features have provided endless themes at the hands of imaginative writers. This tendency has received its reinforcement from the Western models. Several stories found in Western languages have been either translated or adapted. Pudumai Pittan's translations of stories have appeared in two volumes, while his independent stories reveal, not infrequently the influence of Kipling, Tolstoy

and other foreign writers. K. P. Rajagopalan, too, has produced several realistic stories of his own, in the midst of which, he has translated into elegant Tamil the famous story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

It is important to observe that the serious type of story, not necessarily didactical in aim, but elegant and edifying in itself is not much in favour now. In the West though even the vulgar type of story has frequently appeared, there have continued to arise ennobling stories of a high order, in respect of the plot, delienation of character and the style of narration. Perhaps it is not impertinent to suggest in this connection that the novel and still more, the short story demand a distinct elevation to a high and elegant standard. That would not only ennoble the prose style of Tamil but also the social outlook of the Tamilians.

VI

Even more than the novel and the short story, the essay of the modern type owes its origin to the Western model. The essay, as 'a loose sally of the mind' and yet appearing as a skilful piece of art, had attained a high standard of proficiency in English and several other European languages even by the 18th century, and has been, since then, developed enormously. In Tamilnad, as elsewhere, the most prominent agency for the popularisation of the essay as well as the short story is journalism, particularly through periodicals like the Quarterlies, Monthlies and Weeklies. In this direction, too, the original lead in Tamil Nad, was given by the Christian missionaries. The earliest periodical journal, the *Tamil Patrika* was begun in 1831 through Missionary effort. This journal provided preeminently essays on religion and theology, though articles of secular interest, too appeared occasionally. About the middle of the 19th century there arose several monthly magazines, established by the missionaries in the extreme south of Tamil Nad. The *S'uvis'ēṣa Prabala Viḷakkam* of Nagercoil, the *Narpōtakam, Jñāna Snēhan,* and *Dina*

Vartamāni of Palayamkottai and *Dēs'ōpakāri* of Neyyoor were some of the most prominent among them. The primary object of these journals was religious propaganda. Nevertheless, they helped the growth of the essay as a literary production. They were pre-eminently intended for the common masses and, therefore, they were written in an easy and intelligible style.

This initial impulse given to the essay provided the impetus for Tamil scholars of the land to turn to the writing of essays on secular themes. In 1865 certain Hindu scholars started the journal called the *Vivēka Viḷakkam* with the object of drawing the attention of people to the glaring superstitions which permeated the Hindu society. About the same time there appeared the *Amṛita Vachani,* and still later the *Vivēka Chintāmaṇi* which were all intended to provide an up-to-date knowledge on current affairs and to improve the position of women in particular. Soon the *S'en Tamiḷ* of the Madurai Tamil S'aṅgam appeared as a high class literary journal, while the *Siddhānta Dīpikai* arose as a periodical devoted to the S'aiva Siddhānta philosophy.

Now there are myriads of Monthlies and Weeklies, devoted to essays and short stories. But, more often than not, the story seems to hustle out the essay. This tendency deserves to be altered. Much more than the short story or the novel, it is the essay that calls for a judicious and balanced exposition of ideas. Cogent marshalling of facts, persuasive reasoning, lucid presentation and accurate expression are essential requisites of a good essay. In fact, the standard of prose attained in any language is judged largely by the proficiency shown in producing clear, well reasoned and coherent essays, presenting ideas lucidly without sacrificing accuracy. Neither rhythm nor alliteration in prose should be achieved at the expense of accuracy.

A certain measure of commendable progress has been reached by writers like Chelvakkesavaraya Mudaliar,

Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar, Marai Malai Adikal, T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar, Pandithamani Kadiresan Chettiar, N. M. Venkataswami Nattar, Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, K. V. Jagannathan, T. P. Minakshisundaranar, Dr. A. C. Chettiar and Dr. M. Varadarajan. They have devoted careful attention to the subject-matter as well as to the style. Some of them, particularly like T. V. Kalyanasundara Muḍaliar, attained a high level of excellence even in the matter of presenting the most abstruse concepts in simple and readable style. But, on the whole, the essay as a literary form deserves much greater attention than has yet been devoted to it. True, the essay is promoted by the needs of schools and colleges; periodicals are on the increase and several promising aspirants are in the field. But essays of the scholarly type, dealing with the higher realms of thought, have to be attempted much more systematically than has been done as yet. The higher range of thought in Philosophy, History, Literary and Art criticism, not to speak of the Physical and Natural Sciences has still to be handled by competent writers.

VII

In respect of the need for developing the art of expressing up-to-date scientific knowledge, much remains to be achieved. In this sphere, too, the beginnings made by Western scholars almost a century ago deserve to be emulated on a much larger scale than ever before. As early as 1830 a history of the world was written in Tamil by Dr. Schmidt. Dr. Carrol wrote in 1855 the earliest Tamil book of Algebra, while David Solomon published the *Kṣētṛagaṇitam,* the earliest Tamil book on Geometry. S. F. Green produced books on Chemistry, Pharmacopoeia, Physiology and Astronomy, all based on Western works. Rhenius wrote on Nature and Geography, while Arnold produced a treatise on the history of the World. A remarkably interesting work prepared by Charles Xavier in 1857 was the *Jāti Viḷakkam,* which provides an anthropological and sociological study of the castes and tribes of Tamil

Nad. Although the style adopted in these early works left much scope for improvement, the bold beginnings undertaken by the foreigners were indeed inspiring.

But even a hundred years after these pioneering efforts, although numerous school books have appeared on the Sciences, still the progress achieved in the sphere of advanced scientific studies is by no means adequate. This is a situation which calls for immediate and careful attention. Regarding the pattern of technical terms to be adopted, expert committees have been appointed and they have done some useful work. But, still the fundamental question as to the desirability or otherwise of foreign technical terms has led to protracted controversies with the result that vexatious confusion has ensued. It is time that a final decision on a uniform terminology was taken and adopted. Perhaps, in the present situation, it would be easier and more appropriate to employ the English technical terms wherever necessary rather than hastily invent cumbrous equivalents for them in Tamil. This step would facilitate advanced study and specialisation in the Sciences.

Equally imperative is the need for settling the particular pattern of prose that has to be systematically cultivated. An unduly prolonged controversy has continued as to whether extraneous words are to be eschewed or absorbed. On this question feelings have run high and considerations of political implications have delayed a final settlement. Whether the written language should closely correspond to the spoken tongue or whether a pure and unmixed pattern is to be sedulously cultivated are questions which have produced acrimonious differences of views. On this matter, too, a prompt decision is imperative. Otherwise, an artificial caste distinction may arise in respect of literary works which will handicap the unity and advancement of Tamil prose. Total purism in style is as unreasonable as the wholesale adoption of hybrid colloqualisms marring the individualistic traits of Tamil. Perhaps a spirit of accommodation can be counselled.

Wherever suitable Tamil words have been in vogue, by all means, they alone should be employed. At the same time non-Tamil words which have been used for a long time and for which easy Tamil equivalents are not available may well be continued. If the new enthusiasm for the regional language is to be turned to good account and if the volume as well as the quality of prose literature on all subjects is to improve, these controversies have to be settled, and settled soon.

From Wisdom's Antique Home

JOHN SPIERS

By the use of the term Wisdom of South India we hasten to say we have no intention of fostering any political, regional or other rivalry. But, as G. T. Garrat has said about New Delhi architecture, there is a *damnosa hereditas,* a heritage of ruin, entrenched in North India. The spirit of the North has been flattened by a succession of overlapping, devastating invasions. The result is a psychic anæmia.

As in the mechanized countries of Europe and America, or wherever the process called progress thrusts its fungoid growth of packing-case buildings, concrete highways and its glittering array of gimmicks, North India has suffered for millennia from the same desolation of spirit. It may not be long before this same disease of the soul of man insidiously attacks the quiet corners of South India too, but there is at least still time to sound a warning note before we lose sight altogether of that most antique but precious commonsense which we mean when we use the word Wisdom.

Social and Spiritual Values

The mechanical measurement of values results in a distorted appraisal of what is worth-while for humanity. Last month we referred to hub and rim cultures. We said that in the coolie could be found the secret ingredients for the emergence of the Yogi. Outside, in mechanical estimation, the coolie is a nobody, mere robot hands, limbs and strong back to clear away muck, to be employed like an animal to push a cartload. But he has certain rich vertical characteristics which redeem him in spiritual content, giving him a status far beyond his deplorable social condition.

This indeed is partly true of the dispossessed of society everywhere, but poverty's brutalizing effects have been less noticeable in the Indian coolie for the reason that he is the living heir of an ancient legacy which has inwardly nourished him with a spiritual dignity, in spite of a cruel pariah fate.

The pariah-coolie can be easily transformed into a respectable civilized man. A little learning, hair-dressing, tailoring and the assimilation of the superficial tricks of etiquette, with some of the accessories of modern life, such as the Parker pen and the Swiss watch, and he will be indistinguishable from the standard type who at present feels modern and in the forefront of the world today. Probably also our Pygmalion-coolie could make a tolerable standard speech at any club or university dinner. Western social values are not *so* hard to acquire.

But when we think of transforming his dialectical counterpart, the gimmick-educated product of the rim-culture into the contemplative-motivated human being, the task is well-nigh impossible. We have to deal with an interior soil which is usually blighted and sterile. That is why, and not for physiological reasons, it is so very hard for the "modern" man to become a Yogi.

Interior values go counter to the external. Values depending upon mastering a skill can be somehow acquired. Values arising from human understanding cannot be attained at all through action and skill. Stillness, silence, reason, contemplation and insight are necessary concomitants, and also a certain indifference to what is happening in the world, and an outward kind of lazy relaxation, an attitude quite counter-balanced however, by the steady, bright awareness within. This is the Yogi-character, and this is implicit in the South Indian coolie, and it is from this kind of nature that the Wisdom-Teacher or Guru is born.

WHY GURUS ARE UNPOPULAR

When the notion of the Guru is presented, there is always an uncomfortable tension aroused, even in India. Why is this ? We are familiar with the biblical story of Martha and Mary ; the one was the busy bee full of homely and home-making virtues, ever active and serviceable ; the other, apparently a lazy, good-for-nothing was nevertheless praised against all conventions, by a Wise Man, because she took time off at an inopportune moment to sit at His feet just to absorb His words. Why did she do so ?

Both these questions are rooted in a Guru-situation which demands some analysis as it is basic to the understanding of the Wisdom of South India. We can dismiss the modern resentment at anything savouring of piety and the goody-goody. The Gurus have all been fairly heterodox in matters of religious behaviour. For them the Sabbath was made for man and not vice-versa. They have always been regarded as disturbing elements in society and religion.

No, the chief reason for the dislike of the Guru is really a form of intense spiritual envy or jealousy. The special name for this in Sanskrit is *asuya*. All the pretenders to Wisdom invariably recognize the wise man, He arouses *their immediate opposition. They feel in terrible danger* of exposure. Comfortable face-values can no longer be maintained in the presence of a Guru. The folly and absurdity, passed-off as spirituality, gets a death-blow. All forms *of caste harshness, brahminical and patriotic, and conceits* due to ancestry, wealth, position and academic pretension are quickly disposed of by a few penetrating remarks. Nobody likes this sort of thing.

The Guru cannot help being a revaluator of fixed notions. Even if he would like to, he cannot hide his wisdom. Truth is as much a habit with him as hypocrisy is a

habit with the majority of respectable conformists. So his presence is naturally a source of deeply-rooted antagonism to the social ego. He is therefore smeared with all kinds of charges — of being a corrupter of youth (like Socrates), a danger to the state and to religion (like Jesus) an iconoclastic rationalist or Buddhist in disguise (like Sankara) — or just impossible or mad. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the Guru rousing the spiritual envy of those whose secure ways of life are exposed as basically false. The man who knows what he is talking about is just an intolerable nuisance.

Wisdom as a Ruling Science

The Wisdom Teachers are not opposed to the social advantages of mechanics and invention. Everything supporting the genius and intelligence of humanity is welcome. But the two sides of human nature, the material and the spiritual, must be neatly adjusted and not be, as at present, all lopsided because of the emphasis on superficial achievements. Material values have to be delicately and unitively related to Wisdom values. Values emerging from the world of physics such as the usefulness of atomic energy have to be subordinated to higher values coming from more important biological facts, such as the single human species. " A common energy for the common man's welfare " would be the formula here. To realize this *all the time* in all human affairs requires a more imperative or commanding science to crown the rest. This science is the speciality of the man of unitive vision, the Yogi, and its name is Dialectics. This Greek term means uniting (*yukta*, yoking) both sides of a given situation together in the interests of the universal. It is this science of Dialectics or Yoga which is the mark of Wisdom in the world. In this the Guru is the qualified expert.

Some day the history of contemplative man will be written. June divided human beings into two types, the

introvert and the extrovert. There is the man who looks and lives within and the man whose life is turned outwards to action and physical pleasure. But it would be more correct to say that both types of human character are present in every human being. The one usually dominates over the other because of several factors, mainly of an environmental nature. The environmental factor has enabled Wisdom to survive in out-of-the-way places like South India. That is why it is a cause for alarm when the environment suffers a change, as when this long-sheltered region is imperilled by both unsympathetic extroverts and by an internal indifference to the present danger.

South Indians are indeed disturbed by the alien flood steadily rising around their cultural doors, but they are generally inclined to see its superficial aspects and to think of it merely in terms of political action. This is highly coloured by a new kind of local linguistic patriotism which itself is foreign to their ancient culture and best interests. The surge of the world flood can be met best by a world approach, outside the merely comparatively trivial Indian or Asiatic situation; and such a world approach accords too more easily with South Indian's deepest cultural roots since in prehistoric times South India was part of a civilization which was global in character.

So it is to that antique background that we now turn for a glimpse of part of the history of contemplative man.

The Aryan Myth

The figures reproduced in *Values* cover this month form the starting-point of such a history. Central is the earliest known representation of the Yogi. It is both prehistoric and pre-Aryan. It is the enlarged drawing of the impression of a steatite (soapstone) seal found in the north-west region of the Indian sub-continent, at a village called Mohenjo-Daro, on the banks of the Indus, in what is now part of Pakistan.

The first Indus Valley discoveries were made by accident in the winter of 1923 by a staff member of the Department of Archæology, Mr. R. D. Bañerji. Later excavations have yielded overwhelming evidence of a revolutionary order which turns completely upside down all the theories connected hitherto with the ancient history of India. A new history and a new prehistory has yet to be written. As for its relation to the history of Indian philosophy, the full import of these discoveries is hardly recognized.

Prior to this discovery of a civilization akin to that of modern South India and extinct Sumeria of 4000 B.C., the belief was almost universally held that the Aryans came to India as a superior people who civilized the great mass of India's inhabitants. It was taught that everything that was worthwhile, from civic life to the common crafts, from the arts of life to the institutions of government, up to religion and philosophy in India, was entirely due to the " noble " or " Aryan " newcomers.

This of course was their own account. It was foisted upon the pages of history and it was accepted even by scholars and historians. No other record was of course available — the Aryans had seen to that. They also propagated the legend of having come to India very many thousands of years B.C.

" Indra Stands Accused "

Well, the truth in time comes out even out of the grave, as it were, of the great cities the Aryans destroyed. The eloquent records revealed by the diligence of excavators and from other sources that we now know to look for has utterly shattered the whole of this self-propagated myth.

We are now able to see that the very reverse of the Aryan picture of Indian history is true. The Aryans are seen to be just like any other group of pillaging destructive invaders. They had the advantage of a new weapon of

war, the fast spoke-wheeled horse-chariot. Their date of entry is more or less agreed upon by reliable scholars to have been about 1700 to 1500 B.C.

The chariot-using horde not only advanced into India, burning the cities and destroying all records; they also advanced into Sumeria in South Mesopotamia and further West into Palestine, into Asia Minor and as far as Greece. Each locality gave them a new name, but the common features everywhere are too weighty to be overlooked.

In distant Greece the coming of the Achæans and the later wave of Dorians, who brought the Olympic deities (who ousted slowly the prehistoric Dionysian religion), and of course the horse-chariot, are all points in common with what happened elsewhere. In Asia Minor they were the Mitanni who specialized in horse-training with chariots and exported them to Egypt, the date here being well established, for Amenhotep I of Egypt got his chariots about 1550 B.C. A particularly ferocious group of Aryans were a terror even to their own kin in India and became the Asuras or Assyrians "who came down like a wolf on the fold", again with the war-chariot. All over the Fertile Crescent, from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, the overlords spoke a language recognized as "Aryan" by philologists and distinct from the agglutinative speech of the people which had affinities with the language-group now spoken only in South India and a few odd corners of the rest of India as living fossil elements, and known collectively as Dravidian.

From the philosophic point of view we see that the Aryans, wherever they went, were of the mainly extroverted type common to all aggressors. Their deities give them away, since their gods were their hypostatized values. As Prof. Stuart Piggott remarks in *Prehistoric India to* 100 B.C. (Pelican, 1950, p. 260):

> Indra, (in the *Rig Veda*)...is the apotheosis of the Aryan battle-leader; strong-armed, colossal, tawny-bearded, and pot-bellied from drinking, he wields the thunderbolt in his more god-like moments, but fights like a hero with bow and arrows from his chariot. 'He is strong, young, immortal and ancient,' as Keith puts it; his appetite is enormous and he devours prodigious quantities of beef, porridge and cakes, swilling them down with the intoxicating soma or with mead, and both his drunkenness and its after-effects are described with convincing fidelity. (It is) artless barbarism... so curiously transmitted in the sophisticated Sanskrit verse.

In the *Rig Veda* (I, 53), Indra is praised for "overthrowing twice ten kings of men" and "destroying castle after castle" of the non-Aryans, who are said to be noseless (*anasa*), dark-skinned, and speaking an unintelligible speech. But they had vast stores of gold which the Aryans grabbed. These forts and castles were formerly thought to be mythological, for they were somewhat out of accord with the Aryan picture of a mass of primitive uncivilized people. But now, as Prof. Wheeler says in *Ancient India* (No. 3, 1947, p. 88):

> The recent excavation of Harappa may be thought to have changed the picture. Here we have a highly evolved civilization of essentially non-Aryan type, now known to have employed massive fortifications, and known also to have dominated the river-system of north-western India at a time not distant from the likely period of the earlier Aryan invasions of that region... On circumstantial evidence, Indra stands accused.

We can certainly look in vain for anything of the contemplative life or the yogic disposition in this ancient Aryan

society or in its early literature such as the *Rig Veda*. As far as concerns the life of Wisdom, the Aryan contribution has just been another *damnosa hereditas* referred to earlier.

HISTORIANS AND GUESSWORK

The pre-Aryan people of Mesopotamia referred to the Aryans as the Amurru, "people who had never known a city." The word *ur* for city, common to the whole region from Palestine to Cape Comorin, inclusive of that *Ur* where Abraham was born, still survives in the languages of South India, where thousands of place-names have this suffix. The place-names on the prehistoric map of Sumeria and of modern South India are so similar that you might think you were in rapport with one consolidated territory. The Bangalore where this is written is really the anglicization of *Bangal-ur*, for example.

Step by step, from site to site, from the Indus Valley to Minoan Crete in the Mediterranean, when one gathers together the findings of various experts in archæology, anthropology, mythology, linguistics, geography and even ancient hydrology, and when one looks at it all from the viewpoint of Southern Asia rather than from that of Western Europe, a new image of the past slowly swims into the imaginative eye.

Of course it is guesswork based on much diffuse and scattered fact. But all prehistory and much of what passes for recorded history is mostly the guesswork of experts who, provided they have enough university degrees and good publicity, get away with almost anything. It is a kind of academic browbeating. This need not trouble us here where the facts, evidence and affinities are so overwhelmingly plentiful. In this respect Piggott for instance, is better qualified than his contemporary Woolley because he is capable of seeing the Eastern historical scene with Oriental awareness. Piggott, for instance, is quick to note

the relevance of the pipal tree (*ficus religiosa*), that ancient sacred fig under which the Buddha like the prehistoric first Yogi, Siva, sat in contemplation. But when Woolley finds a chain of golden pipal leaves at 6000-year old Ur of the Chaldees, he is mentally still dreaming of dear old English woodlands and calls them "beech leaves"—as if the beech tree ever grew in the tropics of Asia!

Ecstatic Religion

In surveying all these ancient civilizations we find a common religious attitude which is ecstatic and virile. The bull and the lingam or phallus, the leafy glade, the sacred tree and the wild animals all belong together, with the high place for worship, the use of oil for anointing, and the temple pool for the ritual bath or baptism, while the worshipper is alternately in a frenzied abandon of terrible dancing joy and at other times sunk in deep mystical union with the moon-crowned or horned God. It is there on the frescoes of the Palace of Minos in Crete, or in the wall-paintings of the mysterious Etruscans in North Italy. We find it referred to (naturally in horrified terms) in the Bible, in the worship of the Golden Bull or Calf (a "retrogression" which shocked Moses), and we can trace its symbols on pottery right across Eastern Asia from the shores of India to the shores of the Mediterranean. In the *Bacchae* of Euripides too, where one of the curious legends concerning Dionysos is dramatized, we are told that the God came from Asia. He intoxicates everyone with his divine madness and like a Pied Piper of the Absolute goes off with the women of the court into the mountain-forest.

Dr. Jane Harrison, writing of Dionysos in *The Myths of Greece and Rome* (Benn. 1928, pp. 75-77) provides us with some comment which might well apply to the type of religion we are discussing as common throughout the whole of this East-West, region.

> The worship of Dionysos has one characteristic that distinguishes him from the other gods, and is of special interest in helping us to understand the making of a god. Dionysos is always accompanied by a worshipping band, a *thiasos*... Dionysos is the god of ecstasy... By becoming one with the god he had projected, the worshipper of Dionysos attained immortality. That is the doctrine of each and every mystery religion. No one sought to become Zeus, or Athene, or Apollo. That would have seemed folly and insolence.

And she quotes the following from Euripides :

INVOCATION TO DIONYSOS

> Appear, appear, whatso thy shape or name,
> O Mountain Bull, Snake of the Hundred Heads,
> Lion of the Burning Flame !
> O God, Beast, Mystery, come !

And then comments :

> The mystery gods represent the supreme golden moment of Greek mythology. They are caught, fettered for an instant in lovely human shapes ; but they are life-spirits barely held ; they shift and change. Dionysos is a human youth, lovely with curled hair, but in a moment he is a wild bull and a burning flame. The beauty and the thrill of it !

Barely held — yes — because they were quickly ousted by the Aryan family of gods, by Zeus Pater (Sanskrit *Dyaus Pitar*), Ouranos (*Varuna*), Hulios (*Surya*), etc. But the tree and the dance left their old traces, and we have the Christmas Tree and the Maypole and other peasant relics of the old Dionysiac religion. The sacred stones and circles have all their silent message for the modern Dionysian.

This prehistoric religion is still the dominant religion of India. It is not a religion much distinguished by sacred books. It is linked with that natural pantheism or hylozoism which recognizes deity in stone, river, tree and animal, as well as in man. The messages of its graven images are profounder and more affective to the naturally contemplative coolie-pariah masses than the mere repetition of fixed creeds. Frenzy is still possible and can be indulged in unashamedly. The individual man or woman worshipper can enjoy the luminous or divine shivering to find peace of mind.

Indeed, a pinch or even a good dose of this genuine ecstasy infused into the hard sin-soaked core of modern Christianity would go a long way in making many people healthy and sane, particularly if they could throw off the heavy weight of guilt, shame and sin. The Siva religion is one of joy. The very name of the Deity means Auspicious One.

As the greatest breakers of the natural law of human kindliness themselves and with a guilt conscience, the Aryans hated this God of the people, and emphasized the darker aspects of His nature. The Aryan spirit is far too much in evidence in the world at large. A revised look at history, bearing in mind what is already self-evident in South India, gives us warning of what breaks up human solidarity, so that we can be on our guard.

India's Cultural Roots

A religion of happiness and joyous abandon encourages the arts of peace and culture. Whatever is best in Indian culture derives its origin, either directly or by adoption from the over-run pre-Aryan peoples. *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes intulit agresti Latio.* "Conquered Greece took her savage conqueror captive, and introduced the arts into rustic Latium." While the whirl-

wind destruction was furiously raging, a centripetal transformation was slowly going on and, unwittingly, the cultured vanquished had the task of civilizing the conquering invaders, those, "*who had never known a city.*"

The entire plan of the cities and the very style of the houses, as we now know, from the evidence of the ruins, and by comparison with their faithful existing patterns still enduring in the Tamil South, with their pillared inner courts, exact replicas of the houses reconstructed at Ur of the Chaldees and at Mohenjo-Daro, were adopted by the Aryans when at last they had to settle down. They took the credit to themselves, and only these latter-day discoveries have given the show-down, after 3500 years of lies.

And so too with the arts and industries—the cultivation of cotton, of wheat and barley and most probably rice, brickmaking, drainage, ox-transport and shipping, the domestication of bull and buffallo, goat, sheep and pigs, the ass, horse and elephant, and sculpture and writing, games and measurement.

India has this year gone over to the decimal system of coinage. The Indian rupee has been divided till now into sixteen annas. This curious measure, we now know, is a further proof of the dependence of the Aryans on the civilization they found in the Indus Valley. For the counting there, as proved by the innumerable weights found, ran in the ratio of 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, etc. (*see* Piggott, p. 181).

The early Indian and non-Aryan culture survived in the South due to a set of fortunate circumstances. Nature's own defences of great forests, mountains and deep seas, provided a safe cultural "island". There were also the defences of Dravidian Andhras and later that brave people, now known as Marathas, at one time spread across India from coast to coast, a people speaking an Aryan language, it is true, one which had been forced upon them by circum-

stances, but who were and still are, apparented to the ancestors of their Dravidian cousins.

A very large percentage of the peoples of North India are of the same prehistoric and pre-Aryan stock as the Marathas and the Dravidians. But, unlike the South, they have been living unhappily in a region wide open to land invasions. The exposed plains of the North have been the open battlefield of periodic external aggressors — Greeks, Sakas, Scythians, Kushans, Huns, Gujaras and Mughals, followed in recent times by Europeans. All this has disrupted the continuity of life, preventing that development of deep cultural roots which long-established security ensures. After a period lasting perhaps 1500 years, the early " noble " barbarians managed to build up in North India a society which developed a hierarchical caste system, and invented a literary Esperanto called Sanskrit, out of the tribal dialects of their ancestors, and about the fifth century A.D. reached a cultural peak during the reign of the Guptas. It was the age of Kalidasa. He was a devotee of Siva and it is an irony of fate that the greatest period of Aryan glory elevated to the supreme height of literature the God of the people they had originally despised.

Two-Way Traffic in Sanskrit

While the brahmins were more and more consolidating their theocratic position through Sanskrit, we have to note a counter-movement going on inside Sanskrit itself due to the subtle skill of the Gurus. We can illustrate this by the way we are ourselves using the English language in VALUES to give expression to ideas which are entirely novel to " British " or " American " thought. Skilled theologians like the late Dean Inge were quick to recognize what they deplored as the " Orientalization " of Europe through European languages. In the same way, through the sublime poetry of Wisdom-poets like Kalidasa, and even more so by outright Guru-philosophers like Sankara, Madhva

and Ramanuja—all from the South but recognized as the greatest philosophic trio of India — the Aryan thought-citadel was itself invaded from within. Ideas stemming from the relativistic Vedas were revalued and given a subtle contemplative character.

The ideological result was that while the Sanskrit framework remained, its living " Aryan " body was inhabited by a " Dravidian " soul. It only remained for later Gurus such as Narayana Guru (1854-1928) to complete the reformulation of Indian thought by bringing all this revaluation of spirituality into the open.

Thus the language of a dominant priesthood has been reformed by the poets into a language of literary beauty and by the Gurus into a model for the finest philosophic thought. Its cultivation now need no longer be felt to be obstructive to the resurgence of the age-old open values belonging to the true pre-Sanskrit or pre-Aryan spirituality or culture of India.

Historical Clarification

The survival in South India of a culture of ancestral affinity with the stable trading civilizations of 6000 years ago, and the many links disclosed by the evidences from the Indus Valley and by further review of the pre-Aryan world from the Mediterranean to the Coromandel, clears up much that is baffling. We have to remember too that " geologically, the present desert areas of the Sahara and Arabia, Mesopotamia, etc., were fertile grasslands up to 1000 B.C." as Woolley informs us (*Digging Up the Past*, Benn, 1933).

Sayce was astonished in discovering, 70 years ago, that logs of Malabar teakwood were used in the temple of the Moon at Mugheir and in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon. A kind of checkers game found at Ur is still in use by the peasantry of South India, 5000 years later. The same Babylonian names for deities (long dead and

gone) are used by the Todas of the Nilgiris in their sacred chants (*kwarshms*) — names like Ishtar, Enlil, Sin, Ninlil, Anu or On, and Ninurtha — a neat piece of linguistic archaeology discovered by Prince Peter of Greece (see his Monograph, Madras Govt. Museum, 1951).

The saddle type of grinding-stone used for grinding spices (and not, as most Western archaeologists suppose, for corn) found almost universally in the pre-Aryan world, in the Mediterranean and Egypt etc., is still indispensable in South India — but not, oddly enough, in North India, where alien influences as elsewhere, have long obliterated its use. Even when shifted to totally new and modern environments such as Singapore, in kitchens of the latest design, with electric stoves and refrigeration etc., the women of South India retain this prehistoric grinding stone, and I have even known Indian families to take it with them to Europe.

We can now understand too why there was a literary blackout up to the time of the Buddha, although the Indus Valley seals contain hundreds of distinctive ideographic characters, and although the oldest Tamil records speak of former lost works. The Aryans were thorough in their destruction of the records.

We can also make a fairly accurate guess as to why the Tamil Guru Tiruvalluvar, 2000 years ago, had to remind the Tamil people of the low value of meat-eating. He was probably dealing with a new custom introduced from outside. This accounts also for the emphasis on *ahimsa* by both the Jain Guru Mahavira and by the Buddha. The appeal of all these Gurus was direct to the people, and not to the Vedic texts. As Nataraja Guru once told me during a discussion on this subject, vegetarianism comes natural to the South Indian, and that among no other people is this virtue so greatly established.

The Romans complained that the South Indians refused to eat the wheat they brought. What then did they eat ? We can only suppose it was rice. It amazes the meat and wheat eaters that the coolie is able to work hard "on a bowl of rice." Nutrition experts are puzzled, and yet all their propaganda in "Scientific" or "Statistical" defence of the kind of food *they* have been accustomed to, makes no impression on the South Indian—nor, for that matter, on any of the rice-eaters, whether in Spain, Italy, Greece and the whole of South-East Asia or in South China and distant Japan. And yet rice is distinctly a puzzle for the palaeo-botanist. Nobody knows its origins, nor when it was first cultivated. Of all crops to raise it means the hardest labour, with more processes to get it in suitable palatable form than any other grain. But the rice-eaters refuse to exchange it for anything else. One reason is perhaps that it digests so well, particularly in a hot climate. It suits the contemplative personality also which is a point worth mentioning here. That the Gurus of India took some heed of character diagnosis from the types of food consumed, is seen from Vyasa's verses in the *Bhagavad Gita,* XVII, 8-10.

Ex Oriente Lux

"Out of the East, Light" was the ancient Roman proverb, still used as political capital by the modern spokesmen of Indian nationalism. But it had and still has a meaning. The Romans brought their gold to South India (rich finds have been found from Malabar right across South India to the Madras coast), and the Periplus tells us they even brought their temples, even as the British brought their churches. But religious movements were not one-sided. An ivory statue of Lakshmi has been found amid the ruins of Pompeii near Naples, which gives a date at least prior to the first century. Eusebius reports the visit of an Indian philosopher to Socrates. Rawlinson the historian says "India was nearer to Europe in the first century A.D. than at any time up to the middle of the nineteenth" (*Legacy of India*, p. 16).

"Ivory, apes and peacocks" were carried to the courts of kings like Solomon, millions of dollars worth of pepper went to the barns of ancient Rome : but also wisdom. The old cities of the Mediterranean were all familiar with the Indian traders. These were not the Aryans. They hated the sea and put a religious taboo upon sea-travel. But such taboos did not affect the South Indians. They went on with their pre-Aryan knowledge of ship-building, colonized Indonesia, and went as far as Siam and Indo-China. And wise men also travelled. The distinctive Zen form of Buddhism was taken to China in the sixth century by the South Indian known as Bodhidharma. Meanwhile all the outcasts of other lands found a safe persecution-free asylum in the South. At Cochin the Jews have one of the oldest synagogues in the world, and there is the legend strongly held of St. Thomas landing at Muziris (now Cranganore) and going across country to be martyred at a little hilltop near Madras. Buddhists, Jains and even Brahmins, hunted from North India, came South for refuge.

The consciousness of the South Indian is soaked in numinous legend and philosophy. Long dynasties of Guru and saints have found it a place for tranquil life with a tolerant and understanding audience. Not only is the South Indian non-aggressive (an attitude which is not to be confused with cowardice, for he is as brave as anyone else), but he is almost indifferent to his own unique heritage of Wisdom. Perhaps he takes it as normal and feels astonished that his common-sense attitude is not general in the world. To parody what Pater said of Mona Lisa, the South Indian is " old as the rocks among which he sits " in meditation. For he loves to sit for hours, maybe under a pipal tree, even like the ancient Siva of Mohenjo-Daro. He is never out of sight of some holy temple of Siva or Parvati with white steps mounting up past pillared shrines from base to summit, vital living acropolai, where the prehistoric chank shell is blown with its thrilling spine-tingling sound of otherness.

He is right. His world is timeless, and all the long record of history we have delved into here is, contemplatively-speaking, after all, a small matter. But the analytical mind of the modern man needs this material as a *via media,* because *his* mind is conditioned that way. So-called fact has to be met with so-called counter fact, so that the neutral truth can be reached, and mere "fact" forgotten.

Today, South India is near — part of the world network of air transport. And yet there is the psychological or spiritual gulf still to be crossed, for which a revalued history may be one of the means, so that the thought-mode of the man of action may come closer to that of the contemplative. The Wisdom of South India is also humanity's, centred in this negative region of the world, but still capable of replaying its perennial role for the betterment of all. The South Indian by his nature rarely speaks of himself. It is therefore our privilege to present, even in a rather haphazard way, a little of his largely unsuspected antique treasure of culture and Wisdom.

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Dravidian Philology

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

1. Two Aspects of Dravidian Studies: (a) Dravidian in itself and (b) Dravidian and Aryan vis-a-vis (in) each other

The study of Dravidian has its own special place within the range of Humanities in India. Dravidian Linguistics has had already a hundred years of history, and the main lines of this history have been traced by a Dravidianist from Czechoslovakia, Dr. Kamil Zvelebil, in the recent Number of the "Archiv Orientalni", the Journal of the Oriental Institute of Prague.

Ever since the foundations of Dravidian Linguistics were laid by Bishop Robert Caldwell in his epoch-making work "The Comparative Philology of the Dravidian Languages of South India" published from London in the year 1856, the two-fold aspect of Dravidian Linguistics has been recognised. One is the study of Dravidian *in se* that is, its study as a speech-group with its own origin and lines of development, with a view to form a correct appraisement of the internal history of the language. But at the same time, the other aspect of Dravidian Linguistics was envisaged by the founder of the Science — it was of Dravidian Linguistics and Philology — *vis-a-vis* the Linguistics and Philology of the other great family of speech in India, namely, the Indo-Aryan. The handling of Dravidian from a linguistic point of view by recognised masters of the linguistics science in Europe and in America has established beyond doubt that genetically Dravidian represents a speech-family which is quite distinct from the Indo-European to which the Aryan of India belongs. Nevertheless, scholastic speculators mostly with a theological bias have not been wanting in India, after

Dravidian studies became fully established in the country, who fondly hoped to link up Dravidian with Indo-Aryan, looking upon the Dravidian languages in their essence as derived ultimately through some kind of Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan from the Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit, the language of the Gods and the Rishis. Those attempts have displayed a considerable amount of ingenuity in maintaining the thesis of the Sanskrit origin of the Dravidian languages, but they can safely be relegated to the limbo of forgetfulness. It may be that ultimately in some very distant prehistoric time, families of speech which have shown separate histories right up to their oldest periods, of which we have evidence, might have been ultimately related to each other or derived from a common source. Scholars in Europe have similarly attempted to show a connexion between the Indo-European and the Semito-Hamitic families, and similarly between Indo-European and the Ural-Altaic families and even between Finno-Ugrian Languages of Europe and the Munda or Kol languages of India. But we are not concerned with speculations relating to this remote past with which we have no direct connexion, or for which there is no real evidence.

The two aspects of Dravidian linguistic studies are however closely connected with each other, and there is a very deep and underlying connexion between them. It is gradually becoming evident that from very early times, ever since Aryans and Dravidians came face to face with each other on the soil of India (and in all likelihood even outside the soil of India) in areas where Aryan and Dravidian appear to have been current side by side, there has been a profound interleavening of the one by the other. With his vision of the man of genius, this matter was also touched by Caldwell when he began his investigation into the nature of Dravidian. While he established a case for a pure Dravidian background for the culture of the Dravidian speaking peoples from a study of the native element in Tamil and other Dravidian languages, the profound

influence exerted by Indo-Aryan on Dravidian did not escape his notice. Similarly also the idea of a Dravidian substratum and a later and a conscious borrowing from Dravidian by Aryan was also not precluded by him. From the early stages of the relation between these two languages (during what may be described as the prehistoric age of Indian civilisation, when the two peoples with their distant and independent "language-cultures", before racial, linguistic and cultural fusion became sufficiently advanced), the Aryan speech started to influence Dravidian; and Dravidian also began at the same time to modify Aryan. This was not a one-way traffic. There was considerable give-and-take, and this changed the nature of the two languages and made them approximate towards each other. The fusion of races which started to miscegenate Aryan and the Dravidian speakers even before both of them found themselves in India, together with the fusion of other elements in the Indian population on the soil of India with both Aryan and Dravidian (like the Nishadas of the dark-skinned Austrics and the Kiratas or the yellow-hued Mongoloids), gave rise to the birth of the *Indian Man* during the close of the Vedic period, as the late Dr. F. W. Thomas of Oxford has given his opinion, in considering this very fundamental point in the evolution of the Indian people and Indian culture. Already in the Vedic speech we find plentiful evidence of the influence of Dravidian as much as of Austric in phonology, in some aspects of morphology and also of syntax, and, of course, in vocabulary and idiom. In this way the Dravidian speech which became restricted and suppressed and gradually ousted in Northern India (its speakers through what has been aptly described as "the compulsion of events" accepting the language of the Aryans), left its impress upon the Aryan speech in the form of a substratum. The importance of this substratum increased as the centuries passed. So, too from the earliest age of the Tamil and other cultivated Dravidian languages, in the Deccan and in South India, we find considerable amount of influence from the Aryan language. The study

of this give-and-take between the two speech families in India has its own important place in the exclusively specialised study of both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian; and the history of Dravidian as well as of Indo-Aryan therefore cannot be described as capable of being all-inclusive without a reference to the influences exerted by the other family.

2. The Back-ground of a Universal Humanity in the Study of Language and Culture of any People: the theory of "Herronvolk" or "Chosen People".

Latterly, when I used to begin my classes with my students, I would ask them to free their minds from certain pre-conceived notions and generally accepted views, which were both unscientific in approach and erroneous in facts; and it was necessary to eradicate this from their minds before they could profitably do any scientific work in their study and investigation. There is an easily understandable weakness which is almost universal, viz., that each people looks upon itself as representing the high water-mark of perfection. If it is an ancient people with a history and a civilization of its own, it generally has the idea that it is the most ancient people in the world and the most civilised, and it has explicitly or implicitly the divinely ordained task entrusted to it by the Divinity or Destiny to improve and save humanity and incidentally, to dominate humanity — politically or culturally. Many modern peoples who have made phenomenal advance in the various sciences and arts during recent centuries also share in this superiority complex, though in a different way. India is no exception to this, and ordinarily an uncritical Indian — a Hindu who takes certain things for granted, has no doubt that his people are the most ancient people in the world, his religion in the form of Hinduism (as he sees it or he finds it described in the ancient Sanskrit texts) to be the most ancient and the most natural religion in human history, and the Sanskrit language is for him the veritable Language of the Gods which was created as a perfect speech and which goes back

to untold millennia and is the source of all the languages of the world. With such a person, Hindu history as dimly perceived from the ancient and medieval legends as in the Vedic literature, the Epics and the Puranas can be traced back to thousands of years from now in an unbroken record ; and the history of no other ancient people is comparable to the history of the Hindus in antiquity. With him the most enlightened mother-nation of antiquity who gave civilisation to all the nations of the world and who anticipated most of the modern discoveries even in science and crafts was of course the Hindus. The literature of Sanskrit is looked upon as being the repository not only of the highest kind of spiritual wisdom and philosophical thought, which cannot be approached by any other kind of spiritual wisdom or thought but also of the most inclusive scientific thought and scientific achievement, and we should try to resuscitate all these unknown or misunderstood mass of wisdom and knowledge and achievement for the rehabilitation of modern man in his physical, mental and spiritual planes. This is of a piece with the ardent faith which many modern Christian sects evince in the spiritual infallibility and the all-inclusiveness of not only the spiritual but also the mass of material knowledge presented by the Bible as the veritable Word of God. This attitude cannot be permitted in any one who is seriously thinking of making an objective study of human history and culture and is keen on investigating a human science like that of linguistics. So I used to exhort my pupils to get rid of these three basic superstitions—which I would call three uncritical assumptions—they were generally in the habit of making and which I would seek to dispose of in the following way : (1) (a) India is not the most ancient nation in the world : there were after all a composite people born when the human race as a whole had advanced considerably down the highway of history. Hindus after their formation as a people with Sanskrit as the main vehicle of their culture brought their own special contributions for enriching the sum total of human civilization, and there were other nations also

who in their specialised domains made at least equally great contributions, *e.g.*, the ancient Mesopotamians, Egyptians, Greeks and Chinese.

(b) Sanskrit is not the most ancient mother of all languages; neither it is the most perfect of all languages. It has its own greatness, and, like all human achievements, its own limitations. As a means of expression, naturally one has to admit that English as a modern language is miles ahead of Sanskrit, possessing, in addition to its ever increasing vocabulary in all the sciences and in all departments of life and thought, a vocabulary undreamt of in Sanskrit, this great advantage over Sanskrit that it can borrow expressive Sanskrit words for its own needs in the raw, so to say, and without the least difficulty. Sanskrit is basically Indo-European in its structure and in its *Sprachgut* or speech commodity of roots, affixes and words. But it is also quite a composite language with its own historical development, and it has borrowed plentifully from other sources to enrich itself.

(c) It is silly to think that with the holy land of India as their home and Sanskrit as their background, the ancient Hindu people were the salt of the earth and were specially favoured of God Almighty, as much as the Jews thought that they were the "Chosen People of the Lord", and as most Christians and Muslims think that they also are God's elect because of their belonging to a certain religion which is believed to be God-ordained — a kind of arguing in a circle.

(d) I also tried to bring it home to them that the history of India is a part of world history, and therefore it is to be studied against this background. When the evidence from other countries show that the Aryan or Indo-Aryan speakers entered the threshold of history not earlier than the second half of the third millennium before Christ (say, after 2,500 B.C.) it would be highly unhistorical to take Indian anti-

quity with the Aryans as an important factor in the set-up to any period like 3,000 or 4,000, and even 5,000 B.C. and it would, of course, be absurd to relegate the Aryans to an age of geological antiquity, like the Miocene or the Pleistocene period.

This international background we frequently lose sight of when we are anxious in a spirit of self-exaltation to take our national moorings back to remote antiquity ; and this is a feeling shared by us with many other nations.

3. A common Pan-Indian Civilization and Culture

There is another matter which I would like to bring very much to the serious consideration of all workers on the Human Sciences in India. Despite certain differences which are connected with the area and the age, the cultural *milieu* which we find in the existing specimens of Indian literature, embracing such diversified worlds as those of the Vedic on the one hand and of Sangam Tamil on the other, the highly cultivated literature of the mediæval North Indian Aryan speeches on the one hand and the oral literature of the various *Adivasi* or Aboriginal and backward peoples of India on the other — oral literatures which have been collected only during the last 100 years and even much less — there is a common Indian atmosphere about it all. This is particularly noticeable in the cultivated and sophisticated literatures in the various Indian languages. In spite of this diversity which is easily noticeable, there is a common Indian background, a common Indian character in all the literary output of India, as much as in most other aspects of Indian civilization and culture, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, which have been conceded even by a very objective, and at times, to some extent, unsympathetic student and critic of the Indian social and cultural background, like Sir Herbert Risley.

As a matter of fact, when I first studied through English translation specimens of the oldest literature of

Tamil, viz., the Sangam Literature, I was struck with wonder by the novelty presented by it *vis-a-vis* that of Sanskrit and other Indian literature which belong frankly to the atmosphere or orbit of Sanskrit. It was the Tamil social atmosphere in the oldest period which seemed to present some points of contrast with that presented for example by the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata,* and the Puranas and Classical Sanskrit literature, and by mediæval literatures which are found in the South Indian Dravidian languages as much as in the North Indian Aryan languages. The approach to life in Tamil literature — its romantic atmosphere — presented something unique in the domain of Indian literature. Thus the Old Tamil division of love into two broad categories or classes, viz., Kalavu and Karpu (the former indicating a kind of free love between grown up young people which we find as a natural thing in most primitive society where the relations between adolescents or young men and women are not highly conventionalised as in a more advanced society, and the latter indicating regular orthodox love after legal marriage which is given the precedence in the relations between the two sexes) appeared to me as something going against the rigidly orthodox spirit of Sanskrit or so-called Aryan literature. Then, again, the treatment of love as it was elaborated in the earliest Tamil writers, on which the prescriptions given in the *Tholkappiam* were based, seemed to me to present something quite novel and something independent of the Pan-Indian Sanskrit background. Thus the elaborate inter-relation between the various types of topography — *Kurinchi, Mullai, Neytal, Marutam* and *Palai* with the various aspects of life and economic and cultural background as well as the sentiment and practice of love, seemed to me what they certainly are, viz., something quite original for the Old Tamil literature. The artistry as well as the novelty of all this filled me with enthusiasm, and there was a desire in me to accept the position that in this matter we have something which distinguishes Tamilakam from the other areas of India 2,000 to 1,500 years ago. It was

also very definitely stated by enthusiasts of Old Tamil that the percentage of Sanskrit words was exceedingly small, and similarly the proportion of what may be described as Sanskrit ideas was also very limited; and both these facts seemed to establish the absolute independence of the Tamil tradition in literature (as in the Sangam Classics) from that of Sanskrit. This certainly became a very positive source of inspiration in creating an easily understandable sense of legitimate pride in the originality and comparative antiquity of Tamil literature and Tamil culture; and it therefore contributed very largely to the feelings of exclusiveness which has at the present day received the support of certain other factors, some social, some political, others religious, appear to impress an observer from outside.

And yet, as I found almost immediately by a closer study of the Sangam tests (of course through English translation), I was not at all in a strange land. In spite of some pleasing and very definitely original features, the atmosphere of these oldest specimen of Tamil literature was very much the same as that of say, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and of the Puranas, in the essential or basic things. The language (wherever I turned to the original) appeared strange indeed, when one thought of the pure *tatsamas* or unmodified Sanskrit words which are found in such large numbers in most Indian languages. But after going through (at a much later time, of course) the masterly monograph of Anavarata Vinayakam Pillai on the behaviour of Sanskrit and the other Aryan words when they were admitted into Tamil and became naturalised there, much that was strange and unintelligible became clear and familiar, and known faces began to show themselves, so to say, from behind the new. It gave me a thrill to discover that Sanskrit *Sabha* became *avai* in Old Tamil and similarly hundreds of words like *sandhi, sahasra, Aja, Pūrvāṣādha, S'rāvaṇa, kāvya, dharma, Gōpāla, Kanyakā, sthūṇā, strī, tulasī, lōka, brāhmana, drōnī, snēha, dēsa* etc.

etc., became equally transformed, and disguised in their transformation, into forms like *anti, āyiram, Ayan, Purāṭam, Āvani, kāppiyam, tarumam, Kōvālan, Kannaki, tūṇam, ti, tulāi, ulaku, pārppan, tōni, nēem, dēem,* etc. etc. *Yō dēva-nāmāny akhilāni dhattē* : it is the Supreme Divinity which is known by all the differing names of God and the various gods, which occur among men ; and so I was happy to discover Vishnu in Mal or Mriyom, Kumara in Murugan or Ceyyon, Turga in Koravai, and some other familiar gods and goddesses in their new names in South India. The worlds of thought and religious perception were absolutely the same—these were those of Brahminical science as in Sanskrit grammar and of Brahmanical Hinduism as in the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Puranas, with the Vedas as their background, with the fire of the yajna and the homa and the flower of the puja and the devarcana and with the Brahmanical conceptions of the four *Varnas* and the four Agamas which had been accepted by the people of ancient Tamilakam — and perhaps helped by them in these new developments as in North India, in addition there were the thought-worlds of the Jainas and the Buddhists. The common philosophical notions of *Karma* and *Samsara* the ideals of *dharma, artha, kama* and *mokṣham* (so tersely and beautifully defined by Avvaiyar the sister of Tiruvalluvar, in her stanzas on *aram, porul, inbam* and *vitu*) and many other notions which are pan-Indian, are there. It appeared to me to be in the fitness of things that the Kural the greatest didactical poem of India, was but a treatment of *Muppal* or the *Tri-varga* of Dharma, Artha, and Kama, the sage wisely leaving the consideration of the fourth varga of the Catur-Varga, viz., Moksha, to individuals according to the way in which they reacted towards the unseen Reality. It will certainly be impertinence to try to teach one's grand-mother, and one need not carry coal to Newcastle. What struck me long long ago was that in spite of its many obvious and outstanding points of originality which furnish some of its most pleasing features there cannot be any

doubt that Old Tamil literature cannot be dissociated from Sanskrit and other Indian literature, but belongs very much to the orbit of pan-Indian Hindu literature, taking Hindu in its most comprehensive sense. This is much truer of the compositions of the Saiva Saints, the Nayanmars and the Vaishnava devotees, Azhvars, who are the glory of Tamilakam and of India, compositions which, by their profundity and beauty and by their divine as well as human quality, have enriched the spiritual life and aspirations not only of Hinduism but also of the whole of Humanity.

4. "Aryanism" and "Dravidianism" Offence and Defence.

The uncritical notion of the superiority of an Aryan race in spiritual and mental culture which came to India hand in hand with the ideology of a comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages as well as the Linguistic Palaeontology of the original Indo-European speaking people was in some vital aspects an anticipation projected back to 3000 to 4000 years from now of the superiority of the Indo-European speaking peoples of Europe like the Spanish and the Portuguese, the English and the French and others in the history of their colonial expansion from 1450 which gave them political and economic predominance in the modern world. It was accepted (after the development of Indo-European linguistics and the formulation of an Indo-European race and culture brought about by the discovery and study of Sanskrit in Europe) as a very simple thing, viz. the process of empire-building by the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the English and the French, and other European peoples going to the countries of "the coloured races" all over the world and making an easy political and cultural conquest of them, either *in toto* or in part, was just the repetition of a similar process which happened 3000 to 4000 years from now, a process which the Indo-Europeans from their problematical homeland in Central Asia (or somewhere in Eastern

Europe) began expansion into the lands of the various pre-Aryan peoples. Some of these pre-or-non-Aryan peoples were highly advanced in civilisation, but the Indo-Europeans everywhere made an easy conquest of them and imposed upon them their language, culture and religion — the basic things of their civilisation. In this way certain wide tracts of the world became Indo-European in speech — like the whole Western Europe, Italy and Greece, and Iran and India. In all these countries, the highest achievements of ancient and early mediæval civilisation took place under the lead of Indo-European speaking peoples, particularly in Italy and Greece and Persia and India. So much enamoured were the European peoples of the basis of their own culture as supplied by the ancient Romans and the Greeks that they came to an easily understandable conclusion that nothing better or higher than this was produced in ancient civilisation; and in the comity of these most advanced peoples of antiquity place was found, sometimes grudgingly and sometimes with enthusiasm, for Iran and India also, as representing the easternmost branch of the Indo-European race. A tacit acceptance of Indo-European or Aryan superiority in the scheme of things in the ancient history of Man in Europe and in Southern Asia, the Near East and India, was looked upon as axiomatic in the study of history.

When we were boys at school over fifty years ago, we were taught in the first few pages of our Indian History that India was a land inhabited by dark-skinned savages and barbarians who had no culture of their own and they were civilised by a stronger and better organised race of superior men, tall and fair-skinned and comparable to the present-day Europeans, who were the "Aryans"; they brought the light of civilisation to the country of the benighted pre-Aryan peoples like the Dravidians and the "Kolarians" and the "Mongoloids" and others, made an easy and inevitable conquest of them through their superior organisation and discipline as well as military power, and

established themselves as a white ruling aristocracy in a dark man's land. This view naturally was flattering to the *amour propre* or self-love of the upper classes in India who first took to European studies and along with them accepted the theory of this Aryanism. This *Aryanism* also established in the minds of most Indian youth the idea that whatever was great and noble and inspiring, human and civilised, and full of significance for the whole of humanity in Indian or Hindu civilisation, emanated from the Aryans while whatever was dark and degrading, superstitious and unreasoning, originated among the suppressed pre-Aryan peoples. The Indian body-politic had more or less acquiesced itself into this view, which fitted with the new *Herrenvolk* ideology of the British and other European ruling races, in India and elsewhere.

But a closer study into the question was gradually bringing home to us that this very simple and to a large extent romantic and imaginative reconstruction of ancient history could not hold. It was being discovered, so far as India was concerned, that we have to consider a conflict as well as ultimate harmony of different ideologies and different cultures in the country, and this harmony is what we find in the present day Hinduism. Researches into archæology and antiquities both in India and outside India gradually put the Indo-Europeans in their proper place in the scheme of things, in the evolution of early civilisation in both Asia and Europe. It was found out that the earlier pre-Indo-European peoples like the Egyptians, the Sumerians, the Akkadians and the Asianic and Mediterranean peoples on the one hand and the Chinese on the other were the real founders of civilisation ; they independently in two areas of the world (those of the near East and the far East) laid down the basis of civilisation for the whole of humanity. We have to leave out the third area in the New World, that of Mexico, Central America and Andean America, where original cultures appeared but were later on destroyed by the on-

slaught of the Spanish fury in the 16th century. The Indo-Euopeans were originally very backward Nomads or semi-Nomads in the great Eurasian plain to the south of the Ural Mountains; and from there anticipating the inroads of the Celts, the Germans and the Slavs into a civilised Greeco-Roman world — at a much later time; disruptive bands of these primitive Indo-Europeans came down to the south and west and east; and through hostile as well as through friendly contacts, they came in touch with the civilised peoples of Greece and Asia Minor, Egypt and the other lands of the Near East, and also of Northern India. These Indo-European Nomads sought to destroy the earlier culture whenever they had the upper hand. But ultimately, as they were weak in numbers, they got assimilated with the earlier inhabitants, the inner vitality of the ancient cultures proving too strong for these "Splendid Barbarians", who came with their strong organisation and discipline, and, it must also be conceded, with a certain amount of mental and social qualities which enabled them to act as the dominating factors in the many parts of the world where they found themselves. Their languages were an index of their mentality which appears to have been both reasonable and imaginative; and this was one of their strongest points, particularly when this language found itself as the language of the conquerors among peoples who lacked cohesion and unity by reason of their diversity of speech; which appears to have been the case particularly in Iran and in India.

A just and proper estimate of the contributions made by the various peoples in India is now resulting from this new approach to the problem of Indo-European participation in the shaping of history in ancient Europe, the Near East and India. In the meanwhile the new discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa and other sites in India, and elsewhere outside India, were bringing to light the glories and the vitality of a pre-Aryan civilisation in these lands. The pre-Aryans were finally coming to their own.

A very large element in Brahmanical Hinduism is definitely not of Aryan origin, but it is all pre-Aryan-Austric, Dravidian and Mongoloid. This view point is now generally admitted. It may in the future be further established that even in the religion and culture of the Vedic age the latest phases of which belong, according to a sober estimate to which I subscribe, (to round about 1000 B.C.), there was a large modicum of pre-Aryan-Dravidian Nishada or Austric and Kirata or Mongoloid notions and practices, which were only Sanskritised by being rendered into the Vedic speech of the Aryans, who came in as a new and unsophisticated nomadic people tremendously impressed by the earlier and more civilised inhabitants of the Punjab and Sindh areas and Western as well as Gangetic India in general. What had happened in many other countries e.g. the case of the Semitic Akkadians in Mesopotamia taking over bodily the religion, including the Gods and the rituals, of the earlier Sumerians, but not the language of the latter could have equally well happened in pre-Vedic India — giving us ultimately the cults and the culture including possibly many of the rites we find as forming the basis and the background of a good deal of Vedic literature as we now have it.

The pendulum is now swinging to the other end. The supposed descendants of the earlier peoples of India who were considered as not belonging to the superior conquerring Aryan race, so long were not articulate because of their general lack of higher education and of a knowledge of the implications of this ideology. The supremacy of the upper classes in the *affairs* of the States, particularly during the late mediaeval and early modern times, and with special force in British times, was gradually becoming realised. A resentment against this assumption of Aryan supremacy was coming into the field ; and the re-discovery of Old Tamil literature, both by Tamilians and non-Tamil peoples which so far as the English reading public in India is concerned commenced with that

great pioneer work of V. Kanakasabhai Pillai on "The Tamils 1,800 years Ago" published in 1902, with the editing of Old Tamil Texts by scholars like V. Swaminatha Aiyar and others, and the discovery of the pre-Aryan Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa civilisation, brought in something positive in the rehabilitation of a rather belated form of Dravidian nationalism or *Dravidianism*, particularly in the Tamil country. The continuous harping of Aryan supremacy ushered in the inevitable reaction — a passionate faith in and fervour for, even an adoration of a Dravidian supremacy. I need not take note of other factors in this matter, which are working not on the surface, but deep down in the sub-conscious region of the mind.

The situation is unfortunate to the extreme for a realistic and scientific study of the question. There have always been unthinking and unreasonable protagonists of the so-called 'pure Aryan' culture as in Sanskrit literature beginning with the Vedas onwards. A sense of Hindu superiority has also been working here. This superiority complex was the only ideological solace for a large section of people during the two centuries of our helplessness before British colonialism and imperialism. Far too many people, even among those who were familiar with the modern and scientific thought-world for an objective approach to history which was brought to us by the literature of Europe through the English language, have even now maintained an implicit faith in the historicity of the Purana Myths and Legends and Traditions. This was of course of a piece with the faith in the absolute truth of the Myths and Legends of the Jewish people as presented in the Old Testament, which we see even now acting as a powerful leaves in the minds of large sections of both Jews and Christians all over the world. Hindu antiquity, based on the Puranas, was taken to a fabulously ancient period in which B.C. and A.D. had no meaning. Even some highly advanced persons with a scientific

training belied that training by framing a scheme of chronology which furnished for Hindu history definite dates going back to 5000 B.C. and more, all on the basis of the statements which were legendary, if not mythical, embedded in the various *Puranas*. A retort to this kind of reconstruction of Hindu history which was supposed to be just Aryan history, we find in those ardent supporters of Tamil antiquity which would take back the history of the first Sangam to 7000 to 8000 years from now. The incongruity or irony of it all is that legends which are sequels of, or similar to those found in the Sanskrit Puranas, involving the same Indian Hindu divinities like Sivan or Siva and Muruga or Kumara, and Hindu Brahmanical *rishis* or sages like Agattiyar or Agastya, are invoked-legends which themselves do not evince any sense of cultural or religious separatism or opposition. It is just an attempt to counteract one kind of mental immaturity by another — and this is all that can be said about it.

5. The Indian Synthesis in Race, Language and Culture.

The fact of the case is fundamentally this : a special kind of culture, in a particular geographical unit with a more or less similar economic background and a common history, arises out of a comingling and fusion of different types of cultures (which might have originated in different milieus), coming together and flourishing with the same background. To put it more tersely : National cultures arose out of International contacts and conflicts and compromises. The same thing has happened in India. The same thing is happening in the New World. One of the greatest instances of racial and cultural synthesis is presented by India ; and in its profundity and its all-inclusiveness, not even the miscegination of races and cultures which is proceeding in America at the present-day is comparable with it. I need not discuss this matter once again, as I have mentioned it before, I have given my views about it elsewhere. The great fact remains that

the ancient culture of India, the Hindu culture, as we have it, is the joint work of members of the various races with their diverse languages who come to settle and to live side by side on the soil of India from immemorial times. Possibly it was the *Nishada* or the Austrics, ancestors of the Kol peoples, who supplied the first element in this synthesis leaving aside the negroid peoples who preceded them and who appear to have disappeared from the soil of India. Then came the Dravidian speakers, who are believed by some (and this is a view to which I subscribe) to have been originally a Mediterranean people, connected with the builders of the pre-Hellenic Aegean civilisation in Greece and the connected Islands and Western Asia Minor. Then the *Kiratas* or Mongoloid peoples, speaking dialects of Sino-Tibetan, were the third great element in the synthesis of the *Indian Man,* although their influences appear not to have penetrated further south than the Deccan. Finally, we have the Aryans, who gave the finishing touch to Indian civilization and helped its formulation by supplying its chiefest means of expression in the Sanskrit language. The Aryans came as a *Herrenvolk* or Ruling Nation dominating the earlier peoples, but in India also it was a case of "Greece capturing her Captor". The Aryan language was something which became a unifying factor in the welter and conflict of speeches in North India where peoples speaking *Nishada* or Austric, and Sino-Tibetan and Dravidian dialects were living side by side. The Aryan language had its great opportunity in the linguistic Babel already presented by the pre-Aryan peoples in North India. Large masses of peoples in Northern India took up the Aryan language, and in the process of adjusting Aryan to their needs they modified it profoundly, so that it became transformed from Vedic to Classical Sanskrit and simultaneously to the later Prakrits and subsequently the Modern *Bhashas* or new Indo-Aryan Languages. The later post-Vedic phases of the Indo-Aryan speech represent something more than the normal transformation of the language in the mouths of the descen-

dants of the original Aryans — they represent also to a very large extent the transformation of a foreign speech in the mouth of other peoples who accepted it by gradually giving up their own. The Sanskrit language shows a profound assimilation to the Dravidian and other pre-Aryan speeches ; and the great fact remains that in the evolution of the Aryan speech on the soil of India the pre-Aryan speakers — Dravidians, Austrics or *Nishadas*, and *Kiratas* or Mongoloids, Sino-Tibetan speakers, i.e. all had a hand. The Phonetic System, and to some extent the Morphology, and particularly the Syntax and the Vocabulary of the Old Aryan speech as in the language of the *Rig-veda* changed into those of classical Sanskrit (such as we find, for example, in the two great Epics and the *Puranas* in the first instance) and into those of the Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan speeches. A new people came into being — in North India through *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* marriage ; and also in the Deccan and South India through large masses of North Indian Aryan speakers, Brahmans and non-Brahmans, Jains and Buddhist, coming at different periods from very ancient times down to the present ages, whether as merchants or adventurers, teachers and artisans, land-hungry settlers and refugees, and settling down among the people and profounding modifying them in every way. In this way we have the Hindu people of history representing a commingling of the various racial, linguistic and cultural elements ; and Sanskrit, the modified Aryan language in India, became the vehicle of the new civilisation which was being built up. It became an irresistable force as it became a sort of creation of more advanced groups among all the sections of the Indian people ; and it did not and could not meet with any serious opposition anywhere on the terrain of the whole of India. The spirit of Sanskrit was approximating to the spirit of the pre-Aryan speeches. When Sanskrit entered into the second stage of its development as a great vehicle of thought and science, it approximated still further to the mental basis and thought pattern of the pre-Aryan peoples as indicated

in the Syntax of the non-Aryan languages. The long compounds of Sanskrit, it has been suggested, were the direct result of the habit of juxtaposition of words, of a combining of different words all uninflected into a single unit which is the basic characteristic of an agglutinative speech like Dravidian. A large percentage of the common words of Sanskrit, as the researches of successive generations of specialists in this field of enquiry beginning with Caldwell right down to the present-day workers like T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau and F. B. J. Kuiper and others would show, are from Dravidian and Austric. Looked at from this point of view, any notion of an inherent antagonism in spirit between Sanskrit as an Aryan language *par excellence* and Tamil as a Dravidian language *in extremis* representing two conflicting points in Indian Philology, has got to be thoroughly revised.

6. Need for an Objective Scientific Attitude in the Study of Linguistics as a Human Science.

What is wanted is a purely objective appraisement of the facts which have been already gathered and which remain also to be gathered from all available sources. We must have in the first instance a scientific i.e. rational evaluation of the historical process along which the various Dravidian languages have developed. There is no room for arbitrary proceeding in this matter. Linguistics is a modern science, and we cannot speak of it in the manner in which Voltaire did when the science was not yet born, by saying that in the study of words the vowels have no value and the consonants have very little. In the evaluation of a language, we ought to be able to tell from the look of a word when exactly it was in use, and when and how it developed the form in which we see it. The situation for the Dravidian languages unfortunately is not so satisfactory as in the case of the Indo-European languages because of the very rich variety as well as unquestioned antiquity which is presented by the materials

in these languages. Yet scholars are slowly and certainly arriving at certain positive results in the appraisement of the history of Dravidian. A case in point is the general loss of sibilant sounds in the South Dravidian speeches which appears to have taken place sometimes between the 3rd century B.C. and perhaps the 6th century A.D. The question of the devoicing of possible original voiced stop sounds in Old Tamil is another matter which is exercising enquiries into this vexed question of Tamil Linguistics. The case of transformation of the vowel sounds and of the final vowels is another problem of Tamil.

We should first of all try to discover the individual line of development for the various Dravidian languages, which are to be studied with this end in view both independently and comparatively at the same time. When a certain amount of positive evidence is obtained bearing upon the development of the various Dravidian languages individually, we could then proceed to formulate something about the history of primitive Dravidian as a whole, passing from the known to the unknown.

For a school of Dravidian Linguistics to flourish in this ancient centre of South Dravidian Culture, there must be absolutely impersonal and impartial scientific attitude as far as it is humanly possible to achieve it. The work of the previous workers in this field who have been actuated by this scientific mind, for example Caldwell and Gundert and Kittel and K. V. Subbayya and L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar and others, has to be taken into account. This study of Sanskrit and other Aryan elements in the Dravidian languages has been very ably envisaged by Anavarata Vinayakam Pillai and has been followed by similar attempts by other scholars for the various other cultivated Dravidian languages. In this element of borrowing from Sanskrit we have got to have a rigid classification according to epochs and periods when these borrowings took place; and these epochs and periods have left their marks on the forms of the words themselves, when we consider

the phonetic laws or habits under which they were modified. These should be very carefully looked into and established epoch by epoch for the various Dravidian languages ; as much as we can similarly trace the advent of Sanskrit words as borrowings—as *Semi-tatsamas* or modified *Tatsamas* which entered the North Indian Aryan languages at different periods of their history. The development of the morphology in the declension on the noun and the conjugation of the verb, the formative affixes etc. also presents a very fruitful field for research ; and fortunately we have now a band of well-equipped young scholars who speak the various Dravidian languages — Telugu and Kannada and Malayalam and Tamil, who are making conspicuous contributions for the development of the science.

7. Two Essential Equipments now vital in India for investigation in 'Philology'

(a) Phonetics and (b) Historical and Comparative sense.

Talking about equipments, a linguistic investigator must in the first instance possess what has to be considered as the *sine qua non* for the worker in the linguistics of any speech ; he must first of all have a very thorough grounding in the principles of General Phonetics, and in addition must acquire a very clear perspective of the main trends of Phonology in the particular speech which he is studying as well as of the allied speeches. The absolutely necessary grounding in Phonetics is very frequently ignored by would-be researchers in the linguistic history of any particular speech. I would consider it a mere waste of time and energy to discuss seriously about the history of a *language* with a person who may be a profound scholar in its *literature* but is ignorant of the basic principles as well as the detailed workings of phonetics as the basis of the Linguistic Science. In studying the evolution of at least the outward, formal aspect of words in a language,

Phonetics is as indispensable an instrument as the microscope is for Chemistry or Biology or the telescope for Astronomy. Then, he must have not only a sense of historical development of the language as a whole but at the same time must possess some knowledge of what is now known as "Structural Linguistics" — the sense of the particular language *in se*, without any historical or comparative impediment interfering with the appreciation of its own innate nature: the *Tat-tva* or *Thatness* of the matter. This is a subject in which I myself confess my inability to speak in detail as my own training, as belonging to an older generation of linguistic workers, has been primarily along lines of the usual historical approach. But at the same time I must say that in studying the languages of a highly advanced country like India where we have sufficient data in the shape of linguistic materials making clear the development of language going back to at least 3,000 years from now so far as Indo-Aryan languages are concerned, and to about 2000 years so far as the Dravidian languages are concerned, the historical and comparative background cannot be eschewed. They are very vital and most convincing ancillary evidence for appreciating the development of language. But it would appear that the approach of a number of scholars, particularly in America, has relegated to a secondary place this historical comparative background. I am not sure that this will be either helpful, or wholly possible, in the Indian context. In most other countries excepting China and India there have been periods when the continuity of the national culture has suffered from a very severe break, and frequently there has been a total destruction of this continuity. This has happened through the complete change over from the traditional religion which is part of the civilisation, and also through the loss of the language and the substitution of a totally new speech in the place of the old. In India the loss of language among the non-Aryan speaking peoples in North India has of course taken place, but it happened in prehistoric times when an enduring or com-

pelling sense of a national culture had not as yet originated. The North Indian Hindu people began its history *de novo,* say from the closing centuries of the second millennium B.C., with the Aryan language as a basic thing in a new and composite civilisation. In the Deccan and South India, after the general acceptance of the composite Aryan-Non-Aryan religion and civilisation of the North with the Sanskrit or Aryan language as its vehicle became established, possibly during the second half of the first millennium B.C. there was a sense of continuity through both the still living Hindu religion and through the growing literature in the Dravidian languages of the South — Old Tamil, Old Kannada and Old Telugu, which have persisted right down to our time without a break. The presence of Sanskrit in the older Dravidian languages as the background of a pan-Indian life and civilisation is a fact which is of much deeper significance than the rather detached existence of the classical languages like Latin and Greek in the scheme of things among the peoples of Western Europe speaking for example the Germanic languages. The position of Latin among the speakers of the present-day Romanic or Neo-Latin languages like Italian and French, Spanish and Provencal, Portuguese and Rumanian is of course to some extent comparable to the position of Sanskrit for the North Indian Aryan languages. But Sanskrit is much more intimate in the life of the people than Latin has ever been since the end of the mediæval times among even the speakers of the Neo-Latin languages. All these things considered, the socio-religious background of the ancient cultural language Sanskrit and of the earlier forms of the cultivated Dravidian languages is to be always taken into consideration in the study of their linguistics and of their social atmosphere.

For a full and perfect understanding and appreciation, and consequent correct interpretation of Tamil literature, including the literature of the Sangam classics one need not

speak of the other advanced Dravidian languages, a good knowledge of Sanskrit, both language and literature I consider to be absolutely necessary. Similarly a good knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics and of the Bible, with a working acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages, is vital for a thorough appreciation of the literature of French and English and other West European languages. For any one who will study the literature of modern Bengali, to appreciate all its ideas and implications and the modern spirit that is working in it, a knowledge of English, both language and literature must form a necessary background, since most of the great writers of Modern Bengali were profoundly affected by English literature of which they were enthusiastic students. For Urdu literature, similarly a knowledge of Persian both language and literature becomes very vital, both for the forms of words and literary compositions and for the ideas.

8. Some Preliminary Desiderata in Dravidian Studies.

For a fruitful study of the linguistics and literary culture of the Dravidian languages, we must have the materials—the "tools"—placed at the disposal of all and sundry. To my mind the most essential thing is the publication of a series of texts of the early specimen of the various Dravidian languages, and this series of texts must be published in a manner which will leave nothing to be desired for both amateurish students and serious scholars. To make both the outward linguistic form and the inner content in thought and narration of this literature easily accessible, suggests not only in the interest of Dravidian Studies but also for the extension of the cultural and intellectual horizon on peoples not speaking Dravidian languages the publication of the old texts, both literary and epigraphic in Tamil-Malayalam, Kannada, and Telugu in the following style I use the hyphenated term 'Tamil-Malayalam' advisedly as since both Modern Tamil and Modern Malayalam converge into the Old Tamil and the

Sangam Literature as their common ancient form. We may be justified in using this composite expression, since Sangam Tamil will also stand for the oldest Malayalam; a similar hyphenated expression "Bengali—Assamese" has been used by me to indicate a parallel situation for both Bengali and Assamese, and perhaps we would be more justified in using the three word compound "Oriya-Bengali-Assamese".

1. The text should be printed in a thick fount of Roman Script, with or without the original Tamil or Kannada or Telugu Script, in a consistent system of transliteration, combined with a literal translation in English. The continuous or running text with the running literal English translation can occur, the first above the second, on the same page, on the left hand side, and on the page opposite, right hand side, we may have (2) as below for the portion of the text as on the left hand page.

2. There is to be in addition an analytical treatment of the Tamil or other Old Dravidian text, also with the help of Roman characters, giving the close English equivalents of the expression in the language concerned, to enable students to understand exactly the linguistic content of the particular text. This analytical text, in prose order in the case of works in verse, may come advantageously with the English translation, the two languages in two columns.

3. This has to be followed by a proper linguistic as well as literary commentary as necessary which would enable us to appreciate the text concerned from its true aspect of both language form and thought-content.

When we have a series of texts for the different languages in this style, people everywhere will be in a position to appreciate what we actually have before us. This will be some amount of positive fact-finding investigation, and on the basis of this convenient terrain, so to

say, the edifice of a full linguistic study of the literary or epigraphical material could be built up, as well as historical, sociological and literary appraisement of it.

For Annamalai University I would suggest in the first instance a uniform series along this line of the publication of the earliest texts of Tamil, the Sangam texts, the various anthologies, and the so-called epics. The great mass of devotional poetry in early Tamil, which is such a precious heritage for India and also for the whole of humanity, namely, the poetry of the Saiva *Nayanmars* and the Vaishnava *Azhvars*, also may be taken up in the same fashion, as some of the Vaishnava *Prabandhams* have already been attempted to be published in the same style in both Sanskrit and Bengali. In this matter I have found inspiration from France: what some French scholars did for the 'vulgarisation' or popularising of the Greek and Latin classics, as supplying the intellectual and aesthetic bases of the European consciousness over 75 years ago, I suggest can be emulated by us to advantage, as it has already been done quite independently in India too, in Sanskrit and Bengali as just noted. The French scholars some three quarters of a century ago tried to bring out in the same style the entire range of Greek and Latin classics as can be seen from the series which was published from Paris during the eighties of the last century by the Librairie Hachette which gave two translations, one a running translation of the original text and the other a word-for-word or a phrase-for-phrase translation; they also attempted to do the same thing for some English classics and a few Arabic ones as well.

The civilised world in this way would be able to know the beauty and the profundity of Old Tamil Literature in itself with a perfect appreciation of its actual basis in the original words. A series of uniform Sangam texts brought out in this style would be a *desideratum* for the whole of Humanity: and I would like to impress upon the

authorities of the Annamalai University to inaugurate it as steadily as possible through their Department of Dravidian Philology. Their example will, in due course, be followed by the other Dravidian language States.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER TECHNICAL WORK: NO 'PARTI PRIS' IN SCIENTIFIC WORK

The department should take in hand the publication of a rigidly Historical Grammar of Tamil side by side with detailed descriptive accounts of the various spoken dialects of the language, giving also a full and accurate phonetic analysis and phonological study of each of them. This will furnish another mass of very valuable speech material for utilisation for one of our purposes—the establishment of the historical development of Tamil and other Dravidian.

In the matter of etymologising for Tamil and other Dravidian languages, the approach should be absolutely unbiased. Too frequently it has happened, in the study of a language in which a proper scientific tradition of investigation has not been as yet established, that Lexicographers are moved by some sort of strong *a priori* conviction about what the language really is. For example, in one of the dictionaries of the Bengali language, we had a very eminent Bengal scholar trying to find a direct Sanskrit origin for each word. ignoring the intermediary of Prakrit which he did not know; and he also totally disregarded the foreign sources of some Bengali words connecting them straight with Sanskrit. Some scholars of Urdu had persuaded themselves that the pure Hindi element of Urdu is just debased Persian, and proceeded to trace a Hindi word like '*karna*'='to do' from Persian *kardan*. Sanskrit Pandits are known who would sit down to give Sanskrit sources for all English and Arabic and other foreign words, blissfully ignorant of the implications of scientific linguistics. Thus the Persian word *Hindu* has been given a Sanskrit derivation as *hinan dusayatiti, hinduh*: the English *stupid* modified as *istupit*, as *istan*

pinastiti istupit and *horrible* as *yad drstva krodhat trasad va harim bollati Harinama Karoti tall haribol*; and similar linguistic *plaisanteries* are quite seriously taken by some. This kind of etymologising was quite permissible in the scholastic speculations as in the *Nirukta* which nobody takes as scientific or logical, but they have hardly any justification at the present day when a sane and sure and rational methodology is operating. Such things are not uncommon in our etymologising even at the present day, and I need not dilate upon the usefulness of this kind of initial *parti pris* among certain 'Investigations' of a language. Every student of language who wants to have the thing done historically will be pained at the attitude which seems to be actuating some scholars of Tamil and Dravidian, as a sort of a reply and counterblast to the Aryan heresy. If there was the attempt to trace a large percentage of Tamil words even in Old Tamil to Sanskrit and Prakrit, here are some very ardent and patriotically minded Tamil investigators who tried to carry the war in the enemy's camp. They forget that sober scholars of Sanskrit etymology all admit the presence of a large non-Aryan substratum as well as borrowings in Sanskrit, and even such words which are basically non-Aryan are found in Vedic. But as I have said before, they forget that it was a case of give and take, and Tamil or any other Dravidian language could also equally borrow, and borrow very largely and deeply from Sanskrit. Here, the weight certainly was in favour of Sanskrit as the language of the composite Indian culture of both Aryan and non-Aryan origin, which was, through the passing of centuries, everywhere gaining strength and which became encyclopædic in its nature, claiming the willing homage and the service of scholars speaking diverse languages, both Dravidian and Aryan Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan both. It is now being attempted in some quarters to trace to a pure Dravidian source almost the entire mass of Tamil words as far as that is possible. This is leading, I must submit, to waste of time and energy in trying to build up a plausible

or fanciful etymologies, which would not bear scrutiny if we consider the matter from the point of view of historical phonology, and of the mutual influences between the two languages of culture. I would warn all future workers in Dravidian linguistics from this attitude which is not scientific because it is moved by other considerations which may be highly patriotic but which are not objective.

10. Avoidance of Linguism : Peroration

Another matter which has been rather of a political nature, and I close my address. This is the mutually exclusive and even intolerant attitude among the various languages which is being presented in the different Indian States, and to which the name 'Linguism' has been given. At the present moment, owing primarily, as I think to the attempt to establish Hindi as the Pan-Indian Official Language in addition to its own place as a regional language, and to supplant English by Hindi in our administrative and educational set up in most of the States, we note that a passionate and even an intolerant love for one's own language has been coming into greater and greater prominance with the passing of each month and year. Formerly when English and Sanskrit as the common languages of administration and of higher intellectual culture claimed the willing homage of all for palpable intellectual cultural reasons, and there was no insistent attempt to push forward a modern and local language without any outstanding literary and cultural tradition behind it, there was *laissez faire* for all the Modern Indian languages, and each was developing quite harmoniously without any overt or covert opposition from speakers of other languages, even in the same area. Thus in the composite Madras State, Tamil and Telugu and Kannada had received the fullest support and no Tamilian ever grudged the free and full development of Telugu and Kannada by their speakers within their Tamil homeland. Similarly with Tamil in Kerala and in Andhra. This is just a reflex

of the great days of the Vijayanagara Empire, when Kannada and Telugu and also Tamil were all equally patronised by the emperors and they flourished side by side, and there was no linguistic intolerance that we know of. There has been the enriching of Indian culture as a whole through this; the musical genius of Tyagaraya, who was a saint and a musician at the same time, enriched the minds of the Tamil, Kannada and Kerala peoples through the Telugu lyrics as much as that of the Andhras themselves. So in Bengal and Maharashtra the songs of Suradasa and Tanasena were welcomed although they were in the language of Mathura. Unfortunately with a new totalitarian spirit coming up because the speakers of most of the languages feel that they are now being placed on the defensive, the development of Indian languages in an atmosphere of harmony and mutual goodwill is becoming jeopardised. The contact between the various languages which can only be fruitfully possible when a particular language flourishes in the region of another language and gets the benefits of the local *milieu* or atmosphere to the fullest will, it seems, be denied in future when the rigid policy of restricting the full development of a language which does not politically belong to the region itself. This is a state of things which only the good sense of the Indian body-politic and their perception that the Basic culture of India is one and the languages can only be helpful in furthering the diverse colourful expressions of this one Basic culture of India, can alone remove or modify and bring in the necessary sense of toleration and mutual co-operation. That is a matter which of course is outside the scope of scientific linguistic studies. But as they are vitally connected with our culture, I have ventured to adumbrate it on this occasion.

Address delivered at the Inauguration of the Special Committee on Dravidian Philology at Annamalai University on 8th April 1957.

Emphasis in Early Old Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

§ 1 In an article published in Archiv Orientální in 1955[1], I touched upon the problem of emphasis and intensification in Tamil aiming at the investigation of these phenomena also from the general point In this short study I want only to treat the means to express emphasis in old Tamil, particularly in that form of language which may be called Early Old Tamil, and only on the basis of data gained by analysis of the ancient Tamil text நற்றிணை (Nhattin ai). This article is a sort of supplement to the quoted study on Emphasis and Intensification and it may not only add to the data of that article but also to revise its conclusions Several reasons led me to begin my analysis of old Tamil texts with the investigation of நற்றிணை (Nhattin ai) This anthology is certainly one of the four collections (புறம், அகம், நற்றிணை, குறுந்தொகை) which have undoubtedly preserved — as far as we know — the most ancient stratum of literary Tamil[2] Secondly, the literary and grammatical tradition of the Tamils, when enumerating different collections of the great எட்டுத்தொகை anthology, begins exactly with நற்றிணை. There is no reason to abandon this traditional order in our investigation.

§ 2 The view which has been stated in the quoted article, viz that "the emphatic vowel -ē appears already

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[1] On Emphasis and Intensification in Tamil, Archiv Orientalni XXIII, 1955, pp 435-464

[2] I say *expressis verbis* 'literary Tamil' As far as the short inscriptions (if they may be so-called) on Arikamedu ware, and the inscriptions in Caves of Madurai and Tirunelveli districts are concerned, it is indeed a question whether the language of these engravings is Tamil at all This problem received new attention recently According to my view — however, entirely tentative and liable to change—the language of these inscriptions is rather a form of Southern hybrid Prakrit with very rich Kannada-Tamil loan-words

in the most ancient period of the Tamil language-development as a true emphatic particle" has been obviously fully confirmed by the data of நற்றிணை. From abundant material I quote only typical instances :

1. எமக்கே வருகதில் விருந்தே (120,10) "To us let the guests come".

2. ஐதே காமம் (143,1) "Astonishing thing is love".

3. சாதலும் இனிதே காதலந்தோழி (327,3) "And sweet it is to die, O good beloved friend".

Emphasis is a syntactic phenomenon, used, first of all, to stress a part of a syntagma or a sentence (so-called emphatic specializing) and, secondly, to express the speaker's relation to the contents of the whole proposition. The first function of emphasis is well shown in an example like அன்னையும் அமரா முகத்தினள்...நீயே சூழ்தல் வேண்டும் (122,10) "and the mother has distorted (*or* agitated, *lit.* unsettled, not pleased) face...; thou thyself must consider it." For the second function of emphasis cf. such example as இனிதே தெய்ய எம்...நல்லூர் (331,9) "Lo, verily sweet is our...Nullur."

It is natural that different emphatic means cumulate: thus the emphatic vowel — ஏ is often combined with the emphatic change of word-order, cf. பெரும் புலம்பின்றே சிறு புன் மாலை (54,5) "The short, evil evening has afflicted (me) greatly" or ஒன்றே தோழி நங் கானலது பழியே (311,11) "One is, O friend, the fault of our groove".

Not every use of this vowel — *e*: is, however, emphatic. The enclitic — ஏ has, in Old Tamil, just like

[8] நற்றிணை நல்ல குறுந்தொகை ஐங்குறு நூ
றொத்த பதிற்றுப்பத்தோங்கு பரிபாடல்
கற்றறிந்தா ரேத்துங் கலியோ டகம்புறம் என்
றித்திறத்த வெட்டுத்தொகை.

in Modern Tamil, many other functions, e.g. adversative, copulative, referring and many others.[4]

§ 3. The coordinative enclitic — உம் (—*um*, "the only true conjunction in Tamil", Beythan) is also employed as emphatic particle in Early Old Tamil, though rather rarely: செறுநரும் விழையும் செம்மலோன் (50,9) "His being haughty is pleasing even to the enemies". Another instance: பழகிய பகையும் பிரிவின்னாதே (108,6) "It is bad to forsake even old enemies." நாடற் படர்ந்தோர்க்கும் கண்ணும் படுமே (61) "Can those who have been thinking of the chief, sleep ?", *lit.* do perhaps the eyes of those.....etc. close ?"

§ 4. The emphatic particle தான் has all the functions of the emphatic vowel. This particle, emphatic and indeclinable, is, in its origin, a reflexive pronoun meaning "self". The semantic change from தான் "self" to தான் "alone, only, just, exactly" is natural and easy. Examples of emphatic use in Nhattin: ai அதனினும் கொடியாள் தானே...உழவர் தனிமட மகளே (97) "The matchless young daughter of the tiller ... is verily (தானே) more cruel than that"; சீறூர்[1],[2] இனிது[3] மன்று[4] அம்ம[5] தானே[6] (135, 5) "Verily[6] (and) truly[4] the small[1] village[2] is, lo[5], sweet[3]. "This last case is, at the same time, a fine example of the cumulation of emphatic means.

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[4] In this connection I would like to draw attention to the use of the vowel — ஏ at the end of the stanzas in அகவல் —metre—most probably the most ancient and typical metre of Old Tamil. According to my view this இசை நிறை ஏகாரம் had been originally used not only formally but on definite purpose. Let us imagine the times when Old Tamil poetry has not yet been investigated by learned commentators and eager linguists but when these songs (பாட்டு) were actually sung or scanned. The lnal — ஏ had an important and organic function then: it marked the end of one stanza, and it enabled a sort of pause and repose for the bard: he took breath, the musicians accompanying the poet tuned their instruments, the listeners commented upon the excellence of what they had just heard, changed their seats, prepared for the next song. This explanation seems to me simple and obvious.

The evolution of this phenomenon from the reflexive pronoun to an indeclinable emphatic particle may be easily traced in Nhattin:ai. Let us consider the following examples:

1. *தான்* used as subject. having the meaning of a personal pronoun of the 3rd pers. uyartin:ai[5]: கொண்கன்[1] யான்[2] யாய்[3] அஞ்சுவல்[4] எனினும்[5] தானே[6] பிரிதல்[7] சூழான்[8] மன்னே[9] "Though I said [5] to the lover [1] —I [2] fear [4] the mother[3]—he (himself)[6] did not at all[9] intend[8] to leave. Here, *தான்* is most probably predominantly used as a personal pronoun, though it might have been also felt at the same time as a sort of emphatic stressing.

2. தான் used as reflexive pronoun in attributive function, this attribute emphasizing at the same time the subject: அன்னை தான் அறிந்து அன்றோ இலளே (175, 6) "The mother herself did not know." For the peculiar and most interesting construction (அறிந்து அன்றோ இலளே) see § 7 of this article. A similar case is தாஅந் தேரலர் கொல்லோ...இறந்திடுவோரே (302, 6) "Does he, who went away, perhaps not know for himself ?"

3. மற்றவர் கொன்னு நம்பும் குரையர் தாமே (208, 6-7). This case is similar to the last example. *தான்* is not yet an indeclinable emphatic particle, it is still formally in concord with the subject அவர் but is, at the same time, obviously emphatic.

4. குறுமகள்...தீங்குரல் கிளியும் தாம் அறிபவே (209, 6) "and even the parrots understand the sweet voice...of

[5] Cf. R. Swaminatha Aiyar, Aryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronouns, Proceedings and Transactions of the 3rd All India Oriental Conference, 1925, 152. The author might be right in showing that *தான்* has originally been a personal pronoun. We certainly find it in that use in ancient texts. Its personal pronoun use might be however explained as a sort of ellipsis, cf. *சிலப்ப.* XIX, 30 செம்பொற் கொடியனையாள் கண்டாளைத் தான் காணான். "She, the golden creeper, saw him, but her he could not see" (Dikshitar's translation), where *தான்* may have been used instead of full. அவன் தான் "He himself, he however". Certainly Aiyar is *not* right when trying to bring into relation the Tamil *தான்* and Rigvedic *tanu*.

the young daughter". Here, not the subject கிளியும் is in formal concord with the predicate அறிபவே (the subject being in singular, the predicate on the contrary in plural), but the emphatic particle (which is also in plural, தாம்). This is rather interesting. தாம் is here, doubtless, emphatic.

5. காதல் தானும் கடலினும் பெரிதே (166,10) "Verily love is greater than the ocean. Mark here that the copulative enclitic — உம் is affixed to the pronoun தான். This shows, that though தான் is emphatic here, it has still been felt as a pronoun (and not only as an indeclinable particle); thus it is capable of having the enclitic—um affixed. May be that it is also in this instance an அசை : instead of simple காதலும் the form காதல் தானும் is used to equate the rhythm (4 + 4 அசை, கடலினும் - காதல் தானும்).

These examples show clearly the semantic development from தான் "he" (3rd sg. uyart. pers. sq.) and தாம் "he" "they" honorific (> "himself, themselves") reflexive pronoun— > "alone, only, just, even" (indeclinable emphatic particle, as in 135, 5). This emphatic particle தான் as has already been stressed in the study published in Archiv Orientální, never emphasizes a finite verbal form—that being so because of its pronominal origin.

Sometimes, however, it is very difficult to draw an exact dividing line between தான் reflexive pronoun and தான் emphatic particle. As has been shown, in most instances found in NT both functions coincide. தான் is at the same time the reflexive pronoun and the emphatic particle.

§ 5. Emphatic particles of different kind and obscure nature.

It is often very difficult to analyse the origin and exact nature of some of those particles termed அசைச்

சொல் or உரையசை. It is more than probable that many of them are not mere expletives, but are used at the same time in emphatic or intensifying function. An exhaustive investigation of these expletives would need a special and detailed study and would be much desired.

Some examples from Nhattin:ai: ஈங்கு ஆயினவால் என்றிசின் யாளே (55, 12) "Thus they certainly appeared here..." (— - ஆல் is probably emphatic). Similarly: மிகப் பெரிது அழி தக்கன்றால் (72, 5).

Some of these emphatic particles are originally clearly substantives used adverbially: அகன்றோர் மன்ற நம் மறைந்திடுவோர் (118, 5) "He who has left has verily forgotten us": மன்ற *s.* "certainty". சீறூர் இனிது மன்று (135, 5) "The small village is certainly sweet" (மன்று *s.* "certainty"). வெஞ்சுரம் இறந்தவர் மற்றவர் (177, 3) "He certainly went away to the hot desert" மற்று obviously from the same basis as மன்று. In such propositions, we may suppose the evolution has taken course from individual nominal sentences to a single compound sentence: அகன்றோர் மன்ற நம் மறைந்திடுவோர் (118, 5) "he has left; (it is) a certainty; he has forgotten us." > "certainly he that has left (S) has forgotten us (P)".

Some other of these emphatic particles are of verbal origin: எற்றுவது கொல் யாமற்றொன்று செயினே (239, 12) "If we did something else of what use would it be after all?", *lit.* எற்று ஆவது கொல் "of what sort—that which will become—is". This ஆவது (verbal noun of ஆ-) is used frequently as emphatic particle in Modern Tamil.

Whereas such particles as மன்ற or ஆவது are certainly clear as to their origin, the semantics and etymology of some others as மன் - ஆல் etc. are still quite obscure.

§ 6. When investigating ancient poetic texts, only the situation and context help us to state whether the *word-*

order has been changed because of emphasis or whether such a change is due to formal causes of prosodic nature. I have come across obvious cases where the predicate, which is under emphasis, tries to force its way to the beginning of the proposition: நல்லூர் பெண்டிர் இன்னும் ஓவார் என்திறத்து அலரே (116, 11-2) "The women of Nallu:r have not yet ceased with the gossip concerning me" (word-order S-P-O against the normal S-O-P). The emphasised predicate often succeeds in forcing its way to the very beginning, which is especially often in appeals and orders: பூண்க தில் பாக நின் தேரே (81, 5) "Let (it) be yoked, o charioteer, thy chariot." It is frequent also in questions with emphasized predicate: அருளான் கொல்லோ தானே............மலைகிழவோனே (228, 5-9) "Will he be gracious...., the chief of the hills?" Similarly உள்ளார் கொல்லோ தோழி......சுரனிறந்தோரே (92, 1-9). Other instances of emphasized predicate at the beginning: ஐதே காமம் (143, 1) "Astonishing is love." மடவது அம்ம மணி நிற எழிலி...... (316, 1) "Lo, ignorant is the cloud, which has the colour of sapphire."

I quote from the article published in Archiv Orientální (p. 450): "We see, especially in colloquial speech that (mostly in strong emotion) that what is emphasized, tends to force its way to the beginning of the sentence to become the kernel of enunciation". This is the "emphatische Spitzenstellung" (Havers), well-known also from most Indo-European languages.

However, there is another system of emphatic word-order, where the stressed member is placed at the end of the proposition, cf. நயன் இன்மையின் பயனிது (74, 1) "This is the fruit of the sweetness of pleasure." Cf. also the very instructive instance from Nhattin:ai 348, analysed in my quoted article on p. 453.

To express strong emphasis different emphatic means are cumulated. Frequent is especially the combination of the emphatic vowel. — ஏ with word-order change:

வருமே தோழி வார்மணற் சேர்ப்பன்(307, 5) "He will certainly come o friend, the chief of high sand (—dunes)." Or ஒன்றே தோழி நங் கானலது பழியே (311, 11). "Only one is, o friend, the defect of our grove."

§ 7. Last but not least we have a peculiar form of emphatic proposition, typical for all stages of Tamil, which runs according to the scheme *positive utterance, its negation, interrogative vowel* — ஓ + emphatic — ஏ: சென்றது அன்றோ (றோ) கொண்கன் தேரே) (249, 11).

To interpret this type correctly and in accordance with the spirit of Dravidian—for it is typical for Dravidian to express the enunciation, be it positive or negative, through interrogation, cf. many proverbs of this type — we must bear in mind that the vowel — ஓ is used in questions where an answer is expected not in accordance with the form of the question. Thus சென்றது அன்றோ கொண்கன் தேரே is an emphatic positive proposition, transl. liter. "It went away didn't it, the chief's chariot ?" (The expected answer is "Of course it did) Free transl. : "The chariot of the chief certainly went away."

We have even more frequent cases of emphatic negative propositions of this type in ancient texts : அன்னை தான் அறிந்து அன்றோ இலளே (175, 6) "The mother herself, having known, didn't she ? she did not.", i.e. "the mother herself certainly did not know." சேர்ப்பற்கு... கேட்டன்றோ இலதே (239, 8-9) "Did we listen...to the chief ? We did not." "We did not of course listen to the chief."

Somewhat similar is the structure: *positive utterance* + — ஓ + *negation emph.*— ஏ சொற்புடை பெயர்தலோ இலரே (289, 3) "Will (he) change (his) word ? he will not."

[6] Cf. *Enclitic Vowels (—a,—e,—o—) in Modern Tamil, Archiv Orientalni* XII, 1954, pp. 375-405.

It follows from the described material that, to express emphasis, Early Old Tamil uses lexical and syntactic means. The emphatic vowel — ஏ the emphatic particle தான், different particles of nominal and verbal origin as well as so called அசைச்சொற்கள் are lexical means to express emphasis. The emphatic word-order change (though there are some clear examples in Nhattin : ai) can be investigated thoroughly only after a systematic research is undertaken into the nature of Old Tamil prosody and its relation to syntax.

As far as modern Tamil is concerned, it would be much desirable to search into the nature of intonation, word-stress and dynamic level (sentence-stress) of the colloquial and even "vulgar" sentence.

It is possible to say that the rich variety of emphatic means used in Old Tamil—and, at the same time, their well-ordered unity—reflects the richness of the language and its ability to express thought and feeling with elastic precision and richness of colour. The study of emphasis and intensification in a language is thus not a marginal part of linguistics, but an integral and important part of the science of language.

A Seminal Period of Indian Thought*

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

The middle of the sixth century B.C., found the ascetic as the most prominent and hieratic figure in religious life in contradistinction to the Brahmin officiant who filled the religious and literary stage of the earlier epoch. Even in Brahmin circles asceticism had become popular and numerous Brahmins are found to be living in forest hermitages or wandering as ascetics (sanniyasin). To the Brahmin it came to be ordained that after a period of studentship (bramacharin) and after a period as householder (grihastha) when his hair had turned grey and he had seen a grandson, he should repair to the forest and spend a third stage of his life as a hermit (vanaprastha) and a fourth and last stage as a wandering ascetic (sannyasin). The distinction between the third and fourth stages is not clear because the fourth stage was a later introduction. The fourth stage appears to have involved separation from wife and family, greater detachment, more contemplation and itinerant mendicancy. The recommendations concerning the fourth stage were not universally observed, but they provided the opportunity for the northern country to have numerous mendicant Brahmin ascetics and teachers. It is said of the Brahmin, Bavari, that he had sixteen disciples, all Brahmins, each having a "host of disciples" and widely renowned "throughout the world". Several Brahmin ascetics living an eremitic or cenobitic life are also numbered among the first disciples of the Buddha.[29]

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*This article is continued from *Tamil Culture*, Vol. VI. No. 1. p 18.

[29] R. K. MOOKERJI, *Ancient Indian Education*, op. cit., p. 391 ff.

An eristic tradition was part of the Brahminic educational system. We hear of Brahmins travelling in quest of knowledge alone or in companies and stopping for rest and conversation and argument in wayside rest houses. The elaborate sacrifices extending over several days had been made from earlier times the occasions for argument and discussion, "and the man who cut the best figure in argument was in greatest demand as a sacrificer and obtained the highest fees".[30]

It is understandable that asceticism open to all castes had a great attraction for the non-Brahmin classes, and save for the class of hereditary sacrificial officiants, it would be almost a general law in India that the student, the scholar and the teacher had to be an ascetic or assume, temporarily, the guise of asceticism. The marks of asceticism were as indispensable to recognition of non-Brahmin scholarship as the philosopher's cloak was in the Graeco-Roman world. Ajita Kesakambalin, the atheist, should have worn a hair-shirt as his name suggests, though the doctrinal association between atheism and hair-shirts is pretty remote. Asceticism was the only door open to non-Brahmins who sought spiritual, mental and intellectual fulfilment and realisation, and hence the life of the wandering mendicant was considered superior to that of the Brahmin priests. It was equally the opportunity for magicians, necromancers and sorcerers, as for those who used it as a technique for the acquisition of super-human powers and knowledge, whereby they would have a privileged place in society, even if they, like Markhali Gosala, belonged to an inferior caste. Thus a whole multitude of sects were found in the sixth century, names of which have been later consigned to oblivion. The *Anguttara Nikaya* mentions a number of religious and philosophical sects of hermits and wanderers. Their names are suggestive mostly of some external sign whereby they were recognised by the populace, such as *Jatilaka* or "those who were the hair in

[30] CHARLES ELIOT, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 92.

braids " the *Munda-savaka*, "the disciples of the shaveling ", the Tedandika, " the bearers of the triple staff ". The *Mahaniddesa* and the *Chullaniddesa* mention other beliefs which have ascetic votaries, the cults, for instance, among others, of Baladeva, Vasudeva, Purnabhadra, Manibhadra, Agni, the Nagas, the Yakshas, the Asuras, the Gandharvas, Chandra, Surya, Indra, Brahman, Deva and Dik.

Mental measurement and personality tests might have revealed among these ascetics a high correlation of ability with asceticism, but they would also have revealed some of their number to be psychopaths, neurotics, antinomians, perverts and inverts. Asceticism in every country has led to fanciful excesses when it has unduly emphasised the destruction and negation of the body.[31] In this era ascetic morbidity assumed frightful proportions and the descriptions have to be read to be believed. Nudism, revolting habits of eating and drinking, food taken from refuse-heaps and even cow-dung consumed with complacency ; men hanging from the branches of trees, and men engaged in the most painful and gruesome penances, were features of the extremist ascetic schools. In the warm climate of India the cathartic and prophylactic properties of water received especial notice. There were those who believed so much in its cleansing powers that they kept on swallowing water endlessly and cleaning themselves. There were others whose individuality consisted in as far as possible of an imitation of the way of life of a particular animal or bird, such as the cow, the elephant or the hen. A study of these ascetic practices demonstrate the ambivalence prevailing at that time, and the need which arose for new speculation, and for new reforms of ascetic discipline.[32]

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[31] *See* ERE., Article " Asceticism " for comparative study.

[32] H. OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, pp. 60-71, Williams Norgate, London, 1882, NALINAKSHA DUTT, *Early monastic Buddhism*, Vol. I, pp. 17-41, Calcutta, 1941.

A. L. BASHAM, *History and doctrines of the Ajivikas*, passim, Luzac, London, 1951.

ID. WI, pp. 243-247.

In this century of asceticism all the schools, Brahmin and non-Brahmin, sought in some measure to attain mental peace and calm and final release through knowledge (yoga) and works (karma). Brahminism sought to attain peace and calm mainly through a theistic or pantheistic mysticism and ritualism, while of the two most important sixth-century schools which have survived, Buddhist idealism laid particular stress on the mental and psychological processes, and Jainism stressed often to excess the ascetic and ahimsic ideals.

Asceticism proper belongs to an age of reflection and the process of moralization became a dominant feature of intellectual life in the sixth century. This was done mostly by the wandering scholars, non-Brahmin and Brahmin, men and women known as *parivrajakas* and *parivrajikas*. They were, as their name indicates, peripatetics, and except during the rainy season, they spent the remaining seven or eight months wandering in different kingdoms expounding their doctrines, meeting new teachers and learning from them and disputing with them, and winning the allegiance of rulers and peoples. They went to towns and villages as well as to the twenty or so large cities of northern India like Savatthi, Vesali, Rajagaha and Kapilavathu, and Kâsi. The number of these wandering teachers, scholars and disciples is not estimated with any accuracy, but a surmise may be made with due allowances for exaggeration by what the Jain and the Buddhist literature has to say concerning the number of those who followed Mahavira and the Buddha. After Mahavira's preaching, it is said 14,000 monks and 36,000 nuns followed him, and the Buddhist sources would indicate even a greater number of adherents recruited from the class of the "wanderers".[33]

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[33] Cf. Kalpa — sutra, 134 ff.

MRS. SINCLAIR STEVENSON, *The heart of Jainism*, pp. 65-66, O.U.P., London, 1915 :

NALINAKSHA DUTT, *Early history of the spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist schools*, p. 44 ff, Luzac, London, 1925.

Before the establishment of the Jain, Buddhist and Ajivika orders (sanghas) these hermits and wandering scholars may have lived in colonies or groups during the rainy season. Their association of discipleship under a common teacher gave the members of each group a sense of solidarity. The Buddhist texts mention six principal teachers who are treated later as stereotypes of non-Buddhist heterodoxy. Their doctrines are summarised in the *Sāmmannaphala Sutta*. The names of the teachers are:—

1. Purana Kassappa,
2. Markhali Gosala,
3. Ajita Kesakambali,
4. Pakudha Kaccayana,
5. Sanjaya Belatthiputta,
6. Nigantha Nataputta.[33a]

These are consistently described in different texts as having an "assembly of Bhikkhus, a crowd of followers, (gaṇa-caryo)" and as "well-known teachers of sects (titthakaro), famous leaders, considered excellent and saintly (sadhu-sammato) by the multitude" Other teachers, Brahmin and non-Brahmin, are known mostly by name, and the doctrinal or philosophic cleavages between them could not have been but negligible, though every teacher who had a following had to be a system-maker. The *Brahmajala Sutta* is an example of the sixty-two possible systems with which a Buddhist polemist might have to contend.[33b] The subjects of discussion among the wanderers do not appear to have been unwelcome even to ordinary people:—is the world eternal or not: is it finite: is there a cause for the origin of things: does the soul exist after death: if so, is it conscious or unconscious: does it cease to exist after this

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[33-a] *See* also *Sandaka Sutta* in *Majji. Nik* and *Milinda Panha; Sutta Nipata*, III. 3.

[33-b] *See* analysis of *Brahmajala Sutta* in E. J. THOMAS, *History of Buddhist thought*, p. 70 ff, Kegan Paul, London, 1938.

life or after a series of lives: and a great many other issues which are indicative of the restless intellectualism of the age.

The stimulus, information and even entertainment provided to-day by visiting lecturers, political speakers and platform and pulpit orators was provided in Ancient India by these wandering sophists. Their influence on the social and cultural life of the people, on the development of the spoken languages of India and on general standards of reasoning and discussion, was considerable, for their studies and their discussions were not confined to religious speculation. In the Pali works the *parivrajakas* are described as actual wanderers whose chief object was to meet distinguished religious teachers and philosophers, listen to them and discuss with them on matters of ethics, philosophy, natural lore and mysticism. Here is one such typical passage :

"Three hundred paribbajakas were dwelling at a paribbajaka—arama near Rajagaha. They were making great noise and were engaged in discussions about kings, ministers, wars, articles of food and luxury and such other desultory talks." [34]

In fact, itineracy to various parts of India to meet different teachers or disciples and learn from them and hold disputations with them was considered necessary to complete one's education. This dialectical trend aided the growth and the clarification of Indian thought ; the clash of doctrine was truly not a disaster but an opportunity.

Both rulers and people were tolerant and benevolent towards the wandering scholars. They listened to them speak in the parks and in the public halls (kutuhala salas) erected for them. Such were 'the Hall' in Queen Mallika's park at Savatthi ; the 'Gabled Pavilion' put up by the

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[34] *Udumbarika Sihanada — sutta* in Digha III, quoted in NALINAKSHA DUTT, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, op. cit., p. 32. See SBB, Vol. IV, p. 33-34.

Licchavi clan in the Great Wood adjoining Vesali, a popular resort of the wanderers; the Champaka Grove at Champa famous for its fragrant white flowers; and the Mora-nivapa at Rajagaha. Caves, groves, parks and forests, bordering placid lakes furnished the stillness for contemplation and penance. The Greeks themselves called the Indian ascetics "forest dwellers" (hylobioi). On occasion the Buddha would end in some part a discourse made of a concatenation of thoughts with the exhortation to his listeners:

> "Here are the roots of trees, here are empty places: meditate." [34a]

The people heard different philosophers discuss and debate in public, and attached themselves to the one whose arguments or personality appealed to them most. The controversialists themselves, if convinced of the arguments of their opponents, relinquished their beliefs and adopted those of the victors. Several of the early disciples of the Buddha were persons won over in controversy and debate, as, for instance Sāriputta and Moggalana, who were originally followers of Sanjaya. This controversial and dialectical activity was evident not only in cities and towns but also in villages where the audience was not quite so intellectual or discriminating. The *Neru Jataka* contains an interesting account of the visits of these peripatetics to a frontier village. At first a Buddhist preaches and wins considerable support from the villagers. On his departure, his place is taken by an "eternalist" (*sassatavadi*), then by an "annihilationist" (*ucchedavadi*) and finally by a naked ascetic (*acelaka*), who in turn gain and lose the temporary loyalty of the villagers.

That this intellectual climate of controversy and scholasticism bred a number of inferior dialecticians and freak charlatans is not surprising. They are called "hair-splitters" and "eel-wrigglers" in the books of their oppo-

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34-a *Majjhima Nikaya,* I, 118.

nents, and the sobriquets are well-deserved. One of them, a popular controversialist, Saccaka, is reported as saying:

"I know no Samana, and no Brahman, no teacher, no master, no head of a school, even though he calls himself the holy supreme Buddha, who, if he face me in debate, would not totter, tremble, quake, and from whom the sweet would not exude. And if I attacked a lifeless pillar with my language, it would totter, tremble, quake; how much more a human being." [35]

Teachers of the stamp of Saccaka were in the minority. Northern India, because of the years of asceticism and speculation, had provided during this period a great number of renowned teachers among whom Mahavira and the Buddha are the best known and the most studied. Samana renunciation and Brahmin seclusion from the world at a ripe age led to the best and mature minds devoting themselves to speculation, rationalisation and discussion, and in an age when books were not in use, even if writing were already known, the power of the Teacher and the Spoken Word cannot be easily estimated.

The importance of the wandering scholars and forest-dwellers, both Brahmin and non-Brahmin, to the history of Indian thought is that they were responsible for a widespread movement to encourage speculation for its own sake and to repudiate sacerdotalism, authority and tradition if they were not compatible with their rationalisation.

Radhakrishnan's description of this age is both graphic and accurate:

"There are many indications to show that it was an age keenly alive to intellectual interest, a period of immense philosophic activity and many-sided developments. We cannot adequately describe the complex inspiration of the times. The people were labouring with

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[35] H. OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, op. cit., p. 70.

the contradictions felt in the things without and the mind within. It was an age full of strange anomalies and contrasts. With the intellectual fervour and moral seriousness were also found a united lack of mental balance and restraint of passion. It was the era of the Carvakas as well as of the Buddhists. Sorcery and science, scepticism and faith, licence and asceticism were found commingled. When the surging energies of life assert their rights, it is not unnatural that many yield to unbridled imagination. Despite all this, the very complexity of thought and tendency helped to enlarge life. By its emphasis on the right of free enquiry the intellectual stir of the age weakened the power of traditional authority and promoted the cause of truth. Doubt was no longer looked upon as dangerous."[36]

The wandering scholar is a neglected personality in the history of education. Whether it is Ancient India or Ancient Greece or Rome, or Mediaeval Europe, which is considered in history, his is an unobtrusive and anonymous place. However, his influence always was extensive if not original. He served as a powerful carrier of ideas between countries and provinces, and his visit was welcome like the arrival to-day of a newspaper or a new book. Aulus Gellius (160 A.D.) has left a picture of the pupils escorting the sophist from place to place and happy in his company. For the second century A.D., was the period of the wandering scholar and orator in the Roman Empire. Plato's "Protagoras" indicates how popular the sophists were in Athens, and how Protagoras of Abdera (c. 480-410 B.C.) led his disciples from city to city "like a second Orpheus."[37]

It is one of those strange coincidences which history furnishes that the fifth and sixth centuries before Christ

[36] S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 272, Allen and Unwin, London, 1951.

[37] PLATO, *Protagoras*, 310, 315:
Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XV, I:
THEODORE HAARHOFF, *Schools of Gaul*, p. 35, O.U.P., London, 1920.

saw in the education of Greece changes similar to those which took place about the same period in Northern India.[38] The education of Greece through poetry was giving place to education through philosophy even though philosophy may have used the external garb of poetry. A new education was fashioned out in Greece so that the old training confined to aristocratic families by blood might be extended to all citizens who could show an aristocracy of talent, not unlike the movement in Northern India to extend the privileges of learning and asceticism, not only in theory but also in actual life, even to the sudras and the outcastes.

There was a growing dissatisfaction in the Greek world against the established systems of religious belief and new cults like the Orphic and Delphic cults and even ascetic groups like the Pythagoreans abstaining from animal food, developed as a result of a religious and ascetic movement. The Ionian schools were rationalist and sceptical and correspond to the heterodox schools in India, like those of the Caravakas (Materialists). The sophists, who travelled over the Greek world, recruiting students to whom they could teach the science of debate and of eloquence, correspond to the itinerant teachers of India. The Greek sophists were wandering teachers but they did not combine the celibacy and the aura of renunciation which marked the Indian sophists. These lived on patronage and alms while the Greek sophists acquired a notoriety for the high fees which they exacted. The scope of sophist education in Greece was to prepare the statesmen and groupleaders and

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[38] On the sophists of Greece see T. GOMPERZ, *Greek Thinkers*, Vol. I, pp. 412 ff. John Murray, London, 1939;

W. JAEGER, *Paideia*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 283-328.

H. I. MARROU, *Histoire del' Education dans l'Antiquite*, p. 81 ff., Editions du Seuil, Paris.

ALDO AGAZZI, *Problemi e Maestri del Pensiero e Educazione*, Vol. I, p. 31 ff.; Brescia, 1954.

MAX MULLER, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 25 ff., Williams and Norgate, London, 1859, draws relations between the Greek mind and the Indian mind which are suggestive but which lead to scientifically untenable conclusions on national characteristics. *See*

JULIAN S. HUXLEY and A. C. HADDON, *We Europeans; A survey of Racial Relations*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1936.

teach them the art to win any argument. Indian sophistic education insisted on rhetoric and dialectics because it considered these not only as arts useful for ministers, councillors and ambassadors, but also as sciences through which speculation concerning ultimate realities and ethical doctrines might be discussed. The intellectual climate of the age and the restlessness and ferment in thought gave to Greece its Socrates and Plato, while to India it gave its Mahavira and Buddha. The points of contact as well as the points of difference between the two countries are many, but a comparison does bring out sharply the difference in aims between Grecian and North Indian education. Greece affirms the culture of the body and the culture of the mind as vital for success in the social and political environment of the day ; North Indian education of this period *generally* repudiates the body and life as evil and seeks deliverance away from society and by the cessation of life.[39]

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[39] The Indian attitude continued for centuries, and the Graeco-Roman world was aware of it through its interest in Indian philosophers and fakirs. Even TERTULLIAN in a work where one would least expect the allusion says : "Neque enim Brachmanae aut Indorum gymnosophistae sumus, sylivicolae et exsules vitae" (Apol. XLII).

On A Special Locution in Southern Kannada

S. M. KATRE

1. In the spoken Kannaḍa of South Kanara there is a special locution for the act of sleeping or falling asleep for which there does not seem to exist a parallel in the standard Kannaḍa of Mysore or in the literary records. While the forms such as *nidde gey, nidde māḍu, nidde baru, nidde hattu* and *nidde hōgu* are recorded by Kittel in his Dictionary, he has failed to notice the colloquial expression *nidde bīḷu*. The verbal base *bīḷ* or *bīḷu* 'to fall' goes with the nominative *nidde* and the person affected as the dative: e.g. *nanage* (or *maguvige*) *nidde bittu* "I (or 'the child') fell asleep."

This has, however, a parallelism in the Koṅkaṇī dialects of South Kanara. Corresponding to Kannaḍa *nidde baru* Koṅkanī has *nīda yettā,* and to Kan. *nidde bīḷu* Kon. has *nīda paḍtā.* Other neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages like Marāṭhī and Gujarati have respectively *jhop yeṇẽ* and *ūgh āvvū.* From parallel forms in other Dravidian languages[1] it appears that Kan. *nidde bīḷu* is a specialised locution, confined, acccrding to available information to South (and possibly North) Kanara, a region in which southern Koṅkaṇī is also largely spoken.

2. The question, therefore, is what is the origin of this locution? Neither the surrounding Dravidian nor the Indo-Aryan languages indicate that this is a special character of either group. And yet, two languages intimately

[1] Prof. C. R. Sankaran of Deccan College informs me that in colloquial Tamil dialects, particularly in Malabar Tamil, forms such as *avan tunki viluntan* 'he fell asleep' are quite common. Tamil *vil* corresponds to Kannada *bil-, bilu* 'to fall'.

spoken in a given region, the speakers of one of which (Koṅkaṇī) are definitely known to be bilinguals (if not multilinguals with knowledge of at least three languages), share this common feature. The presumption naturally is in favour of Koṅkaṇī affecting the normal constructions of Kannaḍa, and it is worth investigating how far such a presumption is borne out by observable facts of unrecorded Dravidian and Indo-Aryan dialects. Obviously there is no connection between English 'fall asleep' and Kon. *nīda paḍtā* or Kan. *nidde bīḷu.* The dialect geography of this locution may point out to a possible or acceptable solution. I have merely indicated here one problem which is on the peripheral region of linguistics and stylistics towards the study of which comparative methods have yet to be developed and perfected. Here is scope for a new kind of investigation which should make comparative linguistics a vitally interesting and absorbing field of studies, and throw some light on the range of interference between the mother tongue and other tongues of a bilingual or multilingual generation.

Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai — An appreciation

S. M. L. LAKSHMANAN CHETTIAR

Our generation has brought forth some of the great masters of Tamil prose. Among them Professor Sethu Pillai holds a high place. His contribution to Tamil literature—both as a speaker and as a writer—is unrivalled. Through sheer eloquence Sethu Pillai has been able to draw vast groups of laymen and laywomen to the world of literature. Amongst his contributions to literary revival in Tamilnad were the weekly classes which he conducted although at considerable personal inconvenience at the Y.M.C.A., Pattimanram on 'Kambaramayanam', the classes on 'Silapathikaram' which he held in the Gokhale Hall and the classes on 'Thirukural' which took place in Mint Street.

Dr. Sethu Pillai has made a deep study of words and their significance. In this field his contributions and researches are as original and penetrating as they are pioneering. Through a period of nearly three decades now, he has evolved a particularly attractive style which is his own. His intensive study of Kambaramayanam comes to him handy when others are at a loss to find the apt word. His writings—fancied by the masses and envied by colleagues—often remind one of Robert Louis Stevenson's views :

> "First the phrases should be rhythmical and pleasing to the ear: secondly the phrases should be musical in the mouth: thirdly the writer should weave the argument into a pattern, both beautiful and logical and lastly, he should master the art of choosing apt, explicit and communicative words."

The designation சொல்லின் செல்வர் (the word-wealthy) conferred on him is entirely appropriate. He brings to

bear on all delicate problems his genial temperament and ability to work out compromise formulas without offending anyone, assisted by his vast stock of anecdotes, gathered from a lifetime of experience. In the field of Tamil his counsel is eagerly sought for by Universities, Governments and organisations interested in the cause of Tamil.

Like the career of many eminent men, Professor Sethu Pillai's career went through an unexpected turn early in life. During his days as a student, Tamil was not a compulsory subject of study in the Degree Classes and yet he took to the study of Tamil with zeal and was in personal contact with scholars like Chelvakesavaraya Mudaliar. Later, he took to the popular profession of Law and was also actively connected with Local Administration, as Vice-Chairman of the Tirunelveli Municipal Council. His literary zeal and equipment were, however, brought to the notice of the late Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar by the emient scholar K. Subramania Pillai and the Rajah invited Dr. Sethu Pillai to lecture in Tamil in the Annamalai University. It was the good fortune of the Tamil world that Dr. Sethu Pillai deserted law and local administration in favour of Tamil language and literature, in which field he stands as an unrivalled scholar today. In recent years, Dr. Sethu Pillai, the scholar, has also become a prince among scholars through his munificent donation to the University of Madras for the promotion of Tamil.

May this scholar-patron continue to live long and shed lustre on the Tamil world !

Reviews

THE IDEA OF GOD IN THE SAIVA SIDDHANTA

By

T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

(Published by Annamalai University)

This small volume of 43 pages gives us the substance of four lectures delivered under the Sri-La-Sri Arulnandi Sivacharya Swamigal Sivajnana Siddiyar Endowment in the year 1953. The first lecture gives a bird's eye-view of Saiva Siddhanta, and the other three deal with "God the Creator," "God as Moral Governor," and "God as Redeemer.".

Though the author's main field of study, he says, has been Advaita Vedanta, he has had opportunities of writing on Saivism, and the booklet shows the thorough grasp he has of the subject as dealt with by its orthodox exponents. Prof. Mahadevan is succint, clear and impartial in his treatment by considering it simply as a School of Saivism, though he does not appear to give full weight to the claim of the system to be the last word of philosophical speculation, the capstone, as Piet calls it, of religious belief.

"Philosophy has to work on the intuition of the saint and the sage," says Prof. Mahadevan at the outset, and adds, "What philosophy does is to bring to a system the experiences of God-men and Truth-seers." This raises the question whether the Siddantha is primarily a system of philosophy or of theology. Thiru K. Subramanya Pillai (in the course of his lectures under the same endowment in 1947) observes: "The system of Siddhanta is hailed

to be the crown of all philosophy, for it has attained logical perfection to a degree not attained by any other system... Religious ecstasy is not allowed to surpass the dry light of reason. Subjecting his concepts to metaphysical criticism the Siddanta recognises the importance of satisfying the demands of reason. Scriptures are elucidated in a rational manner; of course, there is an appeal to our moral consciousness, but it is not a call to blind faith." We have to accept then that the Saiva Siddhanta is a combination of theology and philosophy; yet as it uses primarily the philosophical method (it is the zenith of Dravidian philosophical efforts), the whole system stands or falls by its philosophical principles.

Swethavana deserves his name of Meikandar, the truth-finder. He has found and established several truths with a finality which does not admit the least doubt. He and his commentators have exploded many a previous system including the Mayavada, and have given us what Prof. Mahadevan calls, "the most absorbing doctrine of the Saiva Siddhanta, viz., the doctrine of God."

It might nevertheless have been pointed out that in developing this doctrine, the virile logic and intellectual honesty of the Saiva Siddhanta has raised many questions, and to our mind, more questions than it has answered. And its chief merit perhaps lies in this. It is therefore no discredit thrown on the Saiva Siddhanta to indicate new points of departure for future progress, dark obscure corners that demand clarification, and perhaps need to be rectified with the very principles and criteria discovered, accepted and used by the Siddhanta itself.

For instance is, "the most absorbing doctrine of the Saiva Siddhanta i.e., the doctrine of God," an advance on the Advaitic concept of Sankara, as the Siddhanti claims,

or is it a falling back into pluralism, as those less acquainted with the Saiva Siddhanta sources say ? Do not the principles of eternal receptivity (பாசம்) and its limited actuation (பசு) enhance the very fecundity and transcendence of the Omnipotent which alone is the only eternal and actual Reality ? These are problems which when pursued fully will, we believe, but enrich the Saiva Siddhanta system, and Prof. Mahadevan's thought-provoking lectures raise these problems in our mind.

I. H.

TAMIL ENCYCLOPAEDIA

We have nothing but admiration for the Tamil Encyclopaedia published by the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam. It has already to its credit four volumes ; the fifth is in the press. On a careful perusal of the volumes we find progressive improvement in the art and technique of the editor. Taken as a whole the volumes already published are undoubtedly a match to the volumes of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Considering that this is only a maiden attempt on the part of the Kazhagam, our appreciation of its stupendous efforts to make the Encyclopaedia thorough-going and useful in regard to every branch of knowledge is enhanced immeasurably. A study of the second volume did disclose some defects and omissions. But in the third volume the editor has not given room for any kind of adverse criticisms to be levelled against him. In a previous review we suggested that the language used was a mixed language in that there was a greater and disproportionate admixture of Sanskrit words. But in the third volume we are delighted to find the language in its pristine purity almost. Again the exposition of highly technical and scientific subjects like architecture and veterinary medicine is done with consummate ease and impeccable scholarship. The third volume would certainly constitute an unequivocal reply to those doubters and

reactioneries who unthinkingly and unsympathetically cry down the Tamil language saying that it cannot be adopted for the purpose of teaching and writing on scientific and technical know-how subjects. We would advise especially those connected with University Education and who dogmatically assert that scientific and technical subjects cannot be taught through the medium of Tamil to peruse intensely and devotedly the four volumes of the Encyclopaedia and disillusion themselves about the unfitness of Tamil as the medium of instruction in University Classes. Of course we do not mean to suggest that the Tamil language has achieved that perfection, pliability and efficiency which belongs to a language like English. The fact is to be borne in mind that the growth of the Tamil language, not to speak of its literature, was arrested during a period of three centuries of foreign rule. If Tamil had been given an opportunity to develop according to its own genius and climatic conditions, it would have attained parity with the English language certainly as an instrument of thought and expression. Nevertheless it is hoped that the remaining volumes of the Encyclopaedia which would be published soon would establish the pre-eminence of the Tamil language in all departments of study and research. We would also suggest to those desirous of writing books in Tamil on various branches of knowledge to greatly benefit themselves by consulting the Encyclopaedia as often as possible. For they would not only pick up the necessary information they may require regarding subject matter but also the terminology that has been given currency and a status by the sponsors of the Encyclopaedia.

In conclusion may we draw the attention of the editor to the fact that only articles of the highest literary excellence and approved scholarship can find a place in an Encyclopaedia. Contributions from foreigners, who are reputed to be authorities in their respective professions may

be invited for publication. Of course these could be translated by competent Tamil scholars, and they would add to the worth and utility of the Encyclopaedia, which is not only a treasure house of knowledge but also of man's highest achievements in thought and language

M. K. S.

EELAKESARI SILVER JUBILEE NUMBER

This number, attractively designed, neatly printed, and profusely illustrated, can boast of possessing probably all the necessary qualities of a high class magazine. The picture of the Gopuram on the front page, perhaps, represents the high ideals and ambitions of the Tamil speaking people of Eelam while that of the cocoanut palm-tree proclaims their actual achievements and victorious celebrations. Beautiful poems, profound prose compositions, elite essays, picturesque short stories, valuable research articles of prominent authors, clusters of colourful plates particularly of towering personalities of Tamil fame and a number of black-and-white illustrations of social, political, economic, and religious nature enrich this volume. Lovers of art as well as school and college libraries, public reading rooms, may find it very useful. The producers of this number really deserve our warmest congratulations.

M. V. P.

INSTRUMENT AND PURPOSE
(Studies on Rites and Rituals in South India)

By

CARL GUSTAV DIEHL

[*Publishers*: Gleerups, Lund (1956)
Pages 395. Price: not given]

The book under notice purports to be a study of popular Hinduism as disclosed in the Rites and Rituals of the Hindus in their day to day life in South India. The author is a scholar of the University of Lund and in writing this book he has had the benefit of his association with the Church of Sweden Mission and the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church. The author opens his thesis with the indisputable proposition that rites belong to the realm of religion and magic and, after a brief notice of the several definitions of religion and magic attempted by anthropologists, rightly concludes that religion and magic cover much common ground, that there is hardly any single definition that covers the whole field and that notwithstanding the theoretical distinction sought to be made between religion and magic, in real life religion and magic are so overlapping as to make any distinction between them, unjustified or simply impossible or artificial and misleading, if ever any such distinction could be made.

2. The expression "Instrument and Purpose" forming the title of this book has been used to cover all rites and rituals, magical and religious. According to the author rites are a language of gesture calculated to serve as an outlet of feeling and are always expressions of the life of an individual or society or of the individual's experience of social life. They are either expressive of innate personal feelings and urges or implicative of definite purpose and are intended to bring about the desired results. They are described as Instruments in the tech-

nical sense of the word i.e., means with indirect effect. "Instrument" is manifest in indirect action whereas 'Purpose' is said to be implied in spontaneous expression and direct action. Instrument and Purpose are thought of as a measure of the nature and character of the observances in the daily life of the people in South India. In the present book, the concepts of Instrument and Purpose have been sought to be applied to as wide a range as possible in the Tamil area in South India by examining the rites, rituals and ceremonies observed and followed in the Hindu homes and temples. The author does not pretend to be exhaustive in handling the subject. But within the limited compass of his endeavour the author has presented a comprehensive and descriptive account of the rites, rituals and ceremonies of popular Hinduism in South India with copious notes and comments, which is the result of gleanings made by the author during 20 years' stay in India. The author has designedly refrained from seeking to explain or interpret the origin and history of the various rites, rituals and ceremonies. The book is definitely a positive contribution to the factual literature of magic and religion concerning the rites, rituals and ceremonies in the religious, personal and social life of the Hindus in South India.

3. Chapter I of the book is merely introductory. In Chapter II the author has presented a brief account of the language and culture of Tamils in South India as preserved in their literature, religious and secular. The author has concentrated his special attention on the rites and rituals in the temples in South India as laid down in the Agamas both *Saiva* and *Vaishnava* and the modes of worship of Saivites and Vaishnavites, with reference to all available manuals containing accounts of the daily rites of home life, astrological works and calendars and the literature relating to *mantrikam* (sorcery). Chapter III of the book is devoted to the actual description of Rites and Rituals.

In part "A" of Chapter III, the author has recorded in great detail all acts and observances connected with the day to day life of the Hindus in South India at home and in the temple during the cycle of a year. In part "B" of Chapter III the author has dealt with the astrological lore of the Tamils in South India and its impact on their daily life, the significance of marks and omens and divination of future events in the life of a person, the avoidance of human ills by resorting to private worship, pilgrimages, vows and offerings, festivals and sacrifices and *mantrikam.*

4. The author has set forth his conclusions in Chapter IV of the book. As regards the purpose of the rites the author has stated that it is of an endless variety depending upon man's desires, that its manifold manifestations can be classified and grouped under many headings which again will open up avenues of investigation in different directions. According to the author purpose may not be manifest in the same degree in all rites, rituals and ceremonies. It may be more or less prominent or even occasionally absent and a rite cannot be classified as religious or magical in itself solely on a consideration of the purpose underlying it. *Mantrikam* (sorcery) is said to furnish a technical example of the rites where Purpose is kept as a definite objective. On submitting the material to the tests applied by Goods and referred to in Chapter I of the book, the author is unable to find any close consistency in the distinction between magic and religion so far as Instrument and Purpose are concerned. The author has observed that in a country of a highly developed culture like India many of the ideas of the common folk emerge from the religious and philosophical systems and it is difficult to differentiate the popular conception from the *terminus technicus* of philosophy. To him India seems to present a different case from the Christian West in that it knows no devil, that, on account of its predominently monistic thinking, Hinduism does not draw a sharp line between good and evil and that common philosophy dominated by

Vedanta places reality beyond the distinction between good and evil and reckons on principle with only shades and degrees of good and evil and not with any absolute contrast.

5. On laying down this book one is likely to be overtaken by a faint feeling of frustration and disappointment, in that, having launched upon such elaborate factual investigation of rites and rituals in South India, the author has not attempted for the benefit of the readers to make an analytical exposition of the various rites and rituals by classifying and grouping them under well recognised heads. Students of anthropology will be familar with the classification of magic as formulated by Fraser on the basis of the law of similarity and the law of contact and the further classification of magic as theoretical (as a pseudo-science) practical (as a pseudo-art), positive (sorcery) and negative (Taboo). It may not be possible for a reader of this book to accept the observation of the author that it is difficult to differentiate the popular notions of common folk from the *terminus technicus* of philosophy. As pointed out by Lord Raglan, rituals consist, for the most part, not, like criminal law, social etiquette or military discipline, in the regulation of conduct, where at least some regulation is necessary, but in the performance of acts which serve no practical end and are not even an exaggeration of what once may have served some practical end, practical end meaning of course anything which contributes to the health, comfort or happiness of mankind. It will be seen that most of the rites and rituals constitute the practical religion of the people, religious belief being no other than the belief in the value and efficacy of the rites ; and Popular theology, and not philosophy strictly so-called, provides the reasons why rites and rituals are practiced and performed.

6. The observation of the author that Hinduism does not draw a sharp line between good and evil and that popular Hindu philosophy places reality beyond the distinction between good and evil cannot be considered to be

correct, particularly in the background of the various rites, rituals and ceremonies which undoubtedly recognise a sharp distinction between good and evil. The author has apparently ignored the earlier phases of Hindu religious thought. Vedic religion recognised conflict between Gods and Demons and was pre-eminently ritualistic. In post-Vedic times ritualism grew more important still and sometimes Gods are represented as beings indifferent to accepted moral notions. In Brahminism religion is largely replaced by magic, rites themselves being elevated to the rank of divinities and the priests becoming the Gods of Gods. But at the same time it has to be conceded that the sacred books of India enjoin a variety of social duties which are consistent with high ethical standards. But the practice of moral virtues has to be not in substitution of the rites and rituals but in addition thereto. Buddhism in its earliest stage did not recognise any belief in Gods or give any place in it for rituals. In later stages the old Gods of Brahmanism came back and the Buddha was himself deified as a God. Buddhism happened even to incorporate most local deities and demons of those nations which it sought to convert and thus became transformed into a religion full of ritualism profusedly mixed with magic. Rituals occupy an important place in Lamaism which is the Tibetan variety of Buddhism. It would therefore seem inappropriate to refer to the monistic metaphysics and Vedantic concepts of speculative Hindu philosophy, reaching beyond good and evil, in seeking to investigate the popular beliefs and practices embodied in the rites and rituals of the Hindus in South India.

7. It is rather unfortunate that, in dealing with the rites and rituals of the Hindus in South India, the attention of the author has not been directed to the religious and cultural heritage of the Tamils in South India, which has sustained and moulded the observances of rites and rituals in their personal and social life. Perhaps the author has left out of account the religious and ethical lore of the

Tamils in South India and its impact on their character and conduct in the belief that the religious and cultural outlook of the Tamils was in no way different from that of the rest and that it would be sufficient to refer to the vedantic concept of "beyond good and evil" as governing the life and thought of the Tamils also. While the north had predominently a pessimistic world view, the south has ever been inspired by a robust optimism. While the former considered life as unreal and extolled quietism and contemplation, the latter accepted the world as real and was activistic in its ethical conceptions. In the life and thought of the Tamils there has always been a recognition of a clear contrast between good and evil in personal and social life. The ethical genius of the Tamils has always been activistic, as may be seen from the "Kural" which is the bed-rock of Tamil Culture. In the words of Dr. Albert Schweitzer, the "Kural" "with sure strokes draws the ideal of simple ethical humanity. On the most varied questions concerning the conduct of man to himself and to the world, its utterances are characterised by nobility and good sense. There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom".** In the 'Kural' knowledge or wisdom has been defined thus:

"சென்ற இடத்தான் செலவிடாதீது ஒரீஇ
நன்றின் பால் உய்ப்பது அறிவு"—குறள் 422.,

which as rendered in English by Dr. Pope is as follows: "Wisdom restrains nor suffers mind to wander where it would from every evil calls it back and guides in way of good". The 'Kural' has entered the heart and soul of the Tamils and has deeply influenced their literature, poetical and devotional. The songs and hymns in *Saiva Thirumurai* and *Vaishnava Nalayiraprabandam* are part of the liturgy in temple worship and household devotion, wherein religion and morality go hand in hand.

8. Rites and rituals are all found in one form or another in most religions and communities, whether anci-

** *Indian Thought and its Developments,* Page 203.

ent or modern, savage or civilised, with a striking resemblance between them, notwithstanding the difference in theological and cultural pattern and one point is clear that rites and rituals are not capable of being explained in terms of modern thought. It can broadly be stated that rites and rituals which are *mostly irrational* or *nonrational*, if that is preferred, have sprung from tendencies in human nature such as a feeling that what is of importance to human individuals or groups must be of causal importance in the outer world, that causation in nature must be something like the desires and feelings of human beings. As stated by Bertrand Russell, human imagination longs to create a cosmos consonant to our preconceptions, a cosmos in which causation is passionate and is an expression of love or hate, in which there are heavenly powers to be placated, and the whole gamut of human emotions is projected upon the outer world in all its variegated confusion, the whole process of causation in the outer world being along the lines of our own feelings.

23-6-57 K. S. P.

BOOKS RECEIVED

தமிழோசை by Dr. A. Chidambaranathan, Head of the Department of Tamil, Annamalai University. Published by: Pathumai Pirasuram, Pennadam, South Arcot District, pages 153. Price Rs. 2.50.

சங்கிலி by Prof. K. Kanapathipillai, University of Ceylon. Pages 95. Price Rs. 3/-.

News and Notes

Tamil—Roman Contacts

Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, who was recently on a short visit to Rome in connection with his research work, delivered a lecture in Italian at the Institute for Middle and Far Eastern studies (Ismeo) on '*Tamil Contacts with the Roman Empire in the First and Second Centuries A.D.*'. He said that Tamil trade with the Roman Empire was very ancient, and that Greek and Latin words for pepper, for rice, for peacocks and for ginger were derived from the Tamil words which were used by the Tamil merchants.

He said that the Romans had territorial concessions in the Tamil kingdoms, and that the ports of Southern India and North Ceylon had yielded a great quantity of Roman coins as evidence of the trade. The excavations near Pondicherry had confirmed Tamil literary evidence and shown that wine and Roman lamps and gold and silver vessels were some of the chief imports. *He said that no ancient Oriental literature gave so much evidence of terminal Roman trade with South India and Ceylon as Tamil literature.* He also said that Greek and Latin literature, as well as the early Christian literature of Alexandria, showed a great interest in Indian religious thought, in Hinduism and in Buddhism.

The busy ports of the Tamil kingdoms had multilingual quarters for foreign merchants. As a result of these contacts, the Tamils developed their navies, their fortifications and their commerce, and were able to establish overseas empires. It was precisely during this flourishing period of trade that Saint Thomas the Apostle preached in South India in the Tamil kingdoms which included Mala-

bar and Madras, and that a number of embassies from Ceylon and South India visited Rome.

'I am aware that a great number of Roman golden coins found by private persons have been used (without any intimation to scholars) for the making of women's jewellery in the coastal districts of South India, even as late as twenty years ago. About twenty years ago, one of the edifices used by the Romans as a warehouse was traced near Pondicherry. The pottery discovered there was Arretine pottery, and some of the potshreds revealed on chemical analysis residue of Italian wine made from raisins in Southern Italy. This was the inferior wine which used to be exported for foreign consumption.

'I am of opinion that there is evidence in the poems that the Romans, in the first century A.D., had a piece of territory near Cochin belonging to them, that they stationed a garrison there, that the territory stocked gold and valuables and that this territory included a hill. I would not be surprised if the remains of the Templum Augusti of the Pentinger Tables were to be found on the top of a hill when the Archaeology Department of India decides to search for these ruins.

'From the South of India and through the ports of South India, which received goods from other parts of India and even from China, the Romans received spices, muslins, pearls and jewel-stones like beryls, rubies, sapphires, tortoise shell and ivory. In exchange for these commodities, South India and Ceylon received gold and silver, wine, coral, crude glass and lampstands and gold and silver vessels. The Tamil poems speak of these ships sailing into the Western harbours like Musiris on the Malabar coast with gold, and returning homewards with pepper. They speak of the artistically wrought golden vessels in which foreign wine is served to kings and chiefs in the Tamil country. They also mention the Roman

lampstands made of metal which are much admired household ornaments.

The Roman soldiers and other colonists, either by treaty or by individual contacts, were also employed by the Tamil kings as personal bodyguard, as watchers and guards at night in the cities, as engineers in charge of fortifications and defence. The Romans seem to have contributed to the advance of military strategy in South India. The Romans are said to speak an unknown harsh language, to reply by signs and gestures (probably they were poor linguists), to have had a hard and cruel look (a military look) and to be fully clad—covering their entire body in leather—an allusion, I believe, to the military dress of the soldiers, a sartorial fashion unusual to people who had less clothing in the warmer regions of the Tamil country. Not all these soldiers were from Italy; many of them should have come from other parts of the Roman Empire, but the chiefs were true Romans from the centre of the Empire.

On the study of mutual cultural influences between the Ancient East and West, a great deal of work yet remains to be done, and it is Institutes like ISMEO and students who know the East and the West who can function as cultural ambassadors opening up new lines of communication or strengthening the old. Within Italy, and within India and Ceylon, lie a whole past which is the key to the understanding of the present, and whatever links and connections can be established between them further not only science but understanding and friendship between peoples. I am sure all of us wish these ancient commercial, cultural and religious ties to grow ever stronger between the lands that you and we have as our native lands.'

The Ismeo, Rome, we understand, is preparing to include the teaching of Tamil among its language courses.

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(,, calm)
இ	—	i	(,, sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(,, machine)
உ	—	u	(,, full)
ஊ	—	u:	(,, rule)
எ	—	e	(,, fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(,, able)
ஐ	—	ai	(,, aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(,, opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(,, opium)
ஔ	—	au	(,, now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(,, church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(,, card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	த	—	th	(,, threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(,, pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(,, atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex- articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(,, sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(,, angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(,, urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(,, anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(,, mate)
	ன	—	n	(,, enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(,, yard)
	ர	—	r	(,, red)
	ல	—	l	(,, leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(,, very)
	ழ	—	l-	(,, ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(,, hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x	(,, ahead)

*The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

   e.g., பக்கம் – is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant* :—

   e.g., பங்கம் – is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் – „ panjam, not pancam,

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t : which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil = Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants						Soft consonants						Medium consonants					
		k	c	t:	th	p	t	ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	y	r	l	v	l-	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	ற	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஆ a:	ா to the right of the consonant	கா					றா			ணா			னா						
இ i	ி to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ீ to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கீ																	
உ u	a semi-circle ു, a vertical stroke ؍ or a loop ു to be *joined* to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	று	ஙு	ஞு	ணு	நு	மு	னு	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழு	ளு
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	றூ	ஙூ	ஞூ	ணூ	நூ	மூ	னூ	யூ	ரூ	லூ	வூ	ழூ	ளூ
எ e	ெ to the left of the consonant	கெ																	
ஏ e:	ே to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ை to the left of the consonant	கை								ணை			னை			லை			ளை
ஒ o	ெ to the left & ா to the right of the consonant	கொ					றொ			ணொ			னொ						
ஓ o:	ே to the left & ா to the right	கோ					றோ			ணோ			னோ						
ஔ au	ெ to the left & ள to the right	கௌ																	
மெய் pure consonants	A dot · on the top of the consonant	க்																	

Note.—(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel அ (a) has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under க (k) are shown as a guide; in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under க (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.

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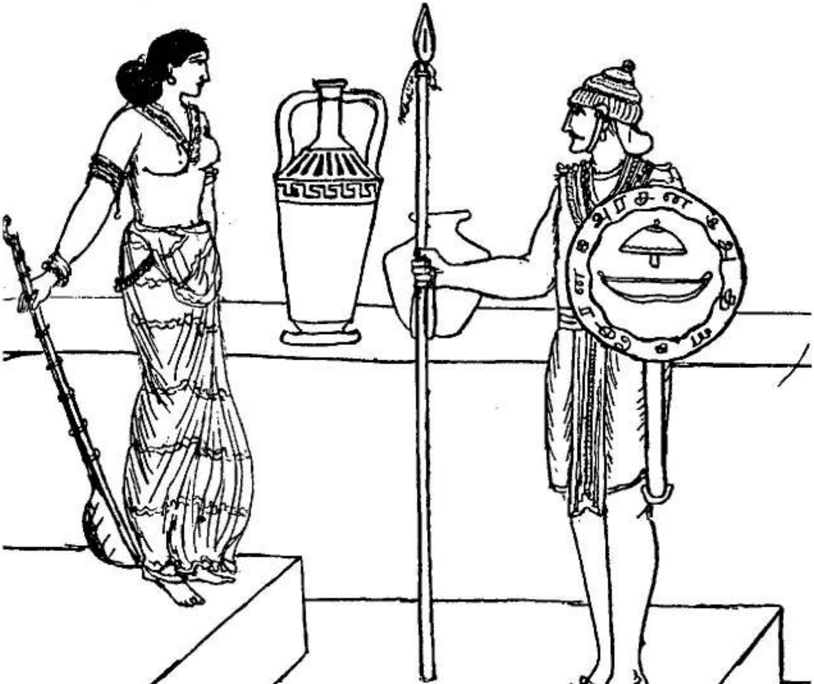

PRINCESS NAR'-CŌNAI AND KING CĒRAN' ATAN'

A line-drawing by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (February 1911)

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Note on The Line-Drawing by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji

The drawing which is published as frontispiece in this issue indicates the reaction of a young student with artistic proclivities to the beauty and romance underlying the Sangam Literature of Old Tamil. Dr. Chatterji as a scholar of linguistics felt attracted to Tamil and Dravidian Philology in his college days. While yet a B.A. student in Presidency College, Calcutta, he had occasion to read Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, and at the same time he felt attracted to Tamil literature, particularly the earliest or Sangam phase of it, by reading two books which created a profound impression upon him. One was V. Kanakasabhai Pillai's "Tamils 1800 Years Ago", which was first published in 1904 and has been recently re-printed, and the other was the late M. S. Purnalingam Pillai's "History of Tamil Literature" (first published in 1904, second edition in 1929). Dr. Chatterji as a young student of about 19 or 20 was very much attracted by the works like the *Patthupattu* and *Ettuttogai,* as well as the Epics like the *Mani-mekalai* and *Chilappathikaram*, and the works of Narkkirar and other writers were very eagerly studied by him. The devotional poems of the Nayanmars and the Azhvars were also something which deeply influenced him spiritually. The romance underlying the life of the Tamil Kings and Warriors and of Tamil Society round about the time of Christ made him essay his hand in making drawings. In his school and college days Dr. Chatterji had some flair for making pencil and pen-and-ink sketches, and in his early days he made sketches of situations from Old Tamil Literature, most of which he never kept, and he generally threw them away. A few sketches from his early college days have been salvaged by his son, and the present one is one of these. Dr. Chatterji sought to make a romantic picture of it, depicting the Princess with *yal* or lute, and the King is dressed as a warrior, in a costume which Dr. Chatterji, from what he could study of early Tamil art as in the Pallava period, thought at that time might be the proper dress of a King and a Warrior in Tamilakam. The Greek vase beside the Indian *kudam* given in the picture indicated the presence of the Greeks in India as merchants and mercinaries. Historically, and as a specimen of art, this picture is not something which is very noteworthy, but it still indicates the tremendous influence which ancient Tamil literature could exert on the mind of a young man who was reading at that time some of the greatest literary master-pieces in the different languages. At that time, Germanic literature as in Old English and Old Norse, Celtic literature through translations from Old Irish and Early Welsh, pre-Muslim Arab literature, and the literatures of ancient China and Japan, had attracted Dr. Chatterji's attention, along with the literature of Old Tamil.

This drawing by Dr. Chatterji forms a sort of homage from a North Indian scholar, while he was still at college, to the beauty and greatness as well as of the human qualities of Old Tamil literature, and to the memory of the great scholar Robert Caldwell who first studied Tamil and the Dravidian languages in their historic setting and established the Dravidian languages in an independent speech-family.

Critical Tribute to a Pioneer

JOHN SPIERS

It is to the credit of Robert Caldwell that he gave justice to a whole family of ancient living languages which, up to his time, had been largely ignored or treated with disrespect. He was and, astonishingly one must confess, still is *the* pioneer. The fact that only last year his Comparative Grammar, revised and edited by two scholars, was published by the University of Madras, is sufficient evidence that in this field of comparative philology he is yet to be surpassed.

Books on South Indian languages are still being printed and sold both abroad and in India almost solely for the use of employers of labour. They are quite openly full of the idiom of master and servant, intended for the housewife and the estate manager. They reflect a still surviving mental attitude of contempt. Bishop Caldwell's religion gave him a freedom from the commercial and imperialist caste prejudices of his European contemporaries and their Indian fellow travellers. He was the first in modern times to present a new and fair picture of the South Indian languages and Tamil particularly as the purest of the group or the most free from outside infiltrations. Along with his fellow missionary, Dr. Pope, he brought to the light of modern scholarship and the general intellectual public, the existence of an abundant and beautiful literature, as far beyond the level of the backyard, the bazaar and the plantation, as the language of Shakespeare and Shelley stands above the level of the English of Billingsgate or the Liverpool slums. Taking into account his time and its politics, this was a grand and bold achievement.

That to our lasting benefit the scholar in Caldwell surpassed the ecclesiastic, can hardly be denied. In this he was purer than Pope whose Christian slant to a large extent mars his otherwise wonderful labours. Of course, the aim of both (as well no doubt as of their successors today) can hardly be said to be disinterested. A missionary must know the language thoroughly into which he means to translate his scriptures and preach his doctrine.

It can hardly have been in either Caldwell's or Pope's mind to imagine however, that their great work could easily be used *volte face,* for a purpose quite the opposite of what they intended. Indeed, the present Centenary itself honours their labours in initiating the renaissance of Tamil literature which, being predominantly infused with philosophy and religion, acts rather more as a brake than as a support, of Christian missionary effort. The very publicity that Caldwell and Pope gave to ancient Tamil literature as corroborative proof of the unity of teaching and wisdom between say, Christian texts and works like the *Tirukkural*, could also, and with more justification, establish the anterior superiority, in many respects, of the wisdom of the Tamils — free certainly for example, from the notions of original sin and fears of hell and with a positively generous toleration of other faiths ! The advantage of a knowledge of any Eastern language for the scholar, provided he is able to adopt the Eastern modes of life and thought sufficiently, is that in his freedom from much of the vast conditioning of an alien Western background, he obtains a new insight into human affairs, human values and the relative importance of human beliefs. One may say that in both Caldwell and Pope, this widening of the personality by their adoption of South Indian ways, did transform their lives. Thinly veiled under the Christian dress, one can see the stirrings of the South Indian. Their Christianity was bound to undergo a revaluation itself, even as a South Indian living in Paris and speaking French, must have many of his

ancestral notions revalued by contact with the life and civilization of Europe.

There is however, this to be added, that Christianity itself being by Oriental affinity closer to the actual life of South India than to the industrial aggressive West, it was perhaps easier for the adoptive Christian than for the neutral or pragmatic scientist in the make-up of any scholar like Caldwell, to achieve the cultural transformation.

Such a cultural acclimatization is exceedingly rare. During the very early years of the East India Company, when the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal had its nest of scholars and Oriental enthusiasts, there was a hopeful birth of a new understanding. But after 1857 and the change in imperial policy, the philistine doctrines of Macaulay prevailed and the promise of the early scholars faded out.

Against that culturally tragic background, one cannot but admire the lonely effort of Bishop Caldwell, even though he may have been protected from common disapproval by his holy office. Doubtless he was heavily censured behind the scenes for taking an undue interest in the language of coolie and pariah, and may be even ridiculed by the philistines for presenting a literature as old at least as the Homer beloved of Macaulay. It is therefore only right that Robert Caldwell should be honoured at last as the man who restored to its proper place a group of living languages still vital, which have survived while their many contemporaries of the pre-Christian centuries have long since perished in antiquity.

It is relevant to the memory of the good work initiated by Caldwell, to indicate what yet remains to be done. It is not too bold a claim to say that the correction of the whole of Asian history and pre-history (and therefore ultimately the history of humanity) depends upon the proper study of the sources of Dravidian culture, society

and language. Something has been attempted by the evidence of the Indus Valley civilization. But it is not only these links in India itself. The whole field of religion, spirituality and philosophy cries out for an unbiased approach, and the final abandonment of orthodox conservatism. Idolatry and other manifestations of the spiritual values precious to humanity have all to be approached with sympathy by the true scholar. In South India and through South Indian ways of life we can understand the meaning of many an ancient Greek and Roman text which would otherwise be dismissed as nonsense or gross superstition by the fixed conditioning of a scholar reared in a European environment. What an eye-opener it is to read say, Herodotus, through the cultural and psychological and religious mind of a South Indian Saivite, rather than through the mind of the Westerner who, if he has any beliefs at all, has but two, those of materialism which refuses to consider anything other than in mechanistic terms, or credal moralising Christianity, which is always on the defensive in asserting its ethical superiority and cannot ever look with equality either on the extinct ritual of Dionysian Greek religion or on the living Saivite religion of modern India.

Indeed, the whole pre-Aryan world from the shores of the Atlantic to the islands of the Pacific has to be studied and compared, bringing every bit of mental equipment and scientific discipline to bear on its study. As Diringer says, the Alphabet is a key to the history of mankind. So also is the comparative study of languages (in whatever script they are written), while customs, and all the other sciences have to be co-ordinated, inclusive of archaeology, anthropology, epigraphy and palaeography, climatology and hydrology. And to all of these must be added an essential sympathy and insight, with the use of a properly boldly loosed imagination.

Indian history has been vitiated by an obsolete attitude to Sanskrit. Even Caldwell in his Introduction to his work,

gets carried away by the quantitative and uncritically accepted notions which down to the present still dominate as they dominated India for political reasons even 1500 years ago, or more. One of the chief errors is the curious notion that the prakrits and their modern descendents (Mahratti, Bengali, etc.) are descendents of Sanskrit. By derivation (Sanskrit = constructed or artificially formed), it is obvious that the reverse of this is true, and that Sanskrit was descended or rather invented, like a literary or sacerdotal Esperanto, from the prakrits. This is not to decry the nobility of Sanskrit or its grand philosophic content. To bring into actual historical record fanciful holy notions derived from puranas either in Sanskrit or Tamil, is not doing real justice to history or to the respective languages themselves. Their perennial philosophical or literary content should not be confused with relativistic matters such as politics and the social claims of religious or other groups in ascendency or decline. Caldwell can be more excused however, than the moderns, who have evidence enough if they will look for it, for more exact conclusions.

Another scholastic blemish in this field of Indian historical research is the solipsist circular quotation of each other by writers and experts. A quotes B who quotes C and C quotes B and A, and so forth. Given sufficient academical labels, much of what passes for high scholarship is nothing more than lazy mutual admiration, little better than the work of clever schoolboys. And as soon as a Father Heras starts a line of daring imaginative research, the timid hurl all their "authorities" upon him. The real scholar's authorities are the plain evidence, plus the logic of his own mind and his insight.

All this is relevant in our assessment of Caldwell and in the development of the work he initiated. Though his theories are outmoded his work done is solid and lasting. He exposed the Lemurian fancies (on p. 10 of his Introduction) as due to a spelling mistake (a lambda for a delta)

by Ptolemy. Another Jesperson is needed to give proper comparative affinities between the world's languages and the Dravidian group, and particular attention must be given to the early languages of Mesopotamia and to Aramaic and Ancient Egyptian, before the last word can be spoken or written on the origins of the Dravidian family of languages. Here is a great field for fresh study by young South Indians.

Due to pioneers like Caldwell, South Indian culture has at last achieved world recognition. *Tamil Culture* itself shows this fact. The temperamental reluctance of the Tamil to speak up boldly, and his age-old indifference to what the rest of the world thinks, on the ground that it is immodest to put oneself forward and that truth will somehow prevail in the domain of letters without the human medium intervening, will hardly do in the modern world of blaring loudspeakers and rotary presses turning out biased travesties of history. While the negative nature of the average South Indian has inspired or induced many wonderful and treasured contributions to the world's contemplative literature, it is surely the work of the real scholar to defend the contemplative and provide his precious gems of spirituality with a proper setting. This is the work of the scholar and the scientist. Dravidian India must find its own voice—it can no longer depend upon rare Caldwells—and publications like *Tamil Culture* should be far more widely supported by generous funds and foundations, while retaining that essential independence and freedom of expression which alone makes such a journal alive.

And when the final definitive history of South India is written, the great contribution of Bishop Robert Caldwell will have its honoured place. Such a history will be his greatest memorial.

Ancient Tamil Poet-Educators

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

The role of the poet as educator of groups of disciples as well as of the community in general corresponds to a society in which kingship prevails, and the chieftaincies and clans have been welded into feudal monarchies. With the evolution of a chieftaincy into a larger political unit embracing other chieftaincies, an additional dignity is attached to the singer of praise the range of whose vision and whose gifts have to be broader and more elevated than those of the bard. Political and social life are developed on a larger scale and with a more extensive and variegated background. The problems which confront the king and his administration as well as society are much more complex and include moral and ethical values involving inter-action between individuals and groups. The inflow of wealth into the capital cities and the sea-ports makes the problem of wealth and poverty, of taxation, trade, war, peace and good government, subjects of reflection on the part of the poets who have become the friends and counsellors of kings. Thus, from the panegyric role of the bard, emerges the poet of a complex and wealthy stage of society, relinquishing popular entertainment and education to the bard, but retaining for himself and developing those aspects of formal teaching which were contained among the bard's functions.

The increase of wealth and splendour at the court, the higher and more universal values with which the poet deals, his cultural activities at courts, and his friendship with the royalty of the land and his interventions with kings on behalf of his friends confer on the poet an aristo-

cratic standing even though the poet is almost entirely dependent on royal patronage.[1]

The poems which describe the rule in the Tamil monarchies show that kingly society was developed on a money economy and that there was wealth and affluence in the royal household. The forest defences, the regular armies and provisions made for the elephants, the horses and chariots of warfare, the different parts of a palace and their costly appointments, the gold and silver vessels in which food and drink are served, and the imported articles of ornamentation in the royal households are evidence of the economic prosperity which marks the poetic stage of culture correlate of an aristocratic tradition of education. The organisation of clan has given place to the feudal monarchy and the bard's functions in tribal forays are taken over by a formal war-drum, enthroned in the palace, the sounding of which summons a regular army in the hour of danger.

The Tamil kingdoms during the poetic period are predominantly agricultural, commercial and militaristic.[2] The Tamil kings encounter their rivals not only on land but also on sea, and navies and naval battles are recorded in the poems.[3] Nedunceralatan, victorious alike on land and sea, is said to have taken into custody a group of Roman soldiers, probably stationed in a territorial concession near Cochin, and released them only after the payment of a ransom.[4] This period (first century A.D.) is also the period of the largest volume of trade of the Tamil kingdoms with the Roman Empire. From the Tamil country the

[1] Cf. ARNOLD HAUSER, *The Social History of Art*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 71-130. Page 124: "The poet is looked upon as the guest-friend of his patron, even at times when he is utterly dependent on him".

[2] S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYENGAR, *The Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 59 ff., Modern Printing Works, Madras, 1918.

ID., *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture* Vol. I, p. 435 ff., Vol. II, p. 668 ff., Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1941.

[3] E.g., *Puram.*, 66, 126, 130.

[4] *Patir.* See K. N. SIVARAJA PILLAI, *The Chronology*, op. cit., p. 117.

Roman Empire received spices, fine muslins, pearls and beryls and in exchange for these commodities Tamil India received gold and silver, wine, coral, crude glass, lamp-stands and gold and silver vessels.[5] Hence there was a surplus economy and a progressive grow.h of cities, not only of the inland capitals like Kārur and Kūdal (Madurai), but also of the many sea-port towns which were important in the sea-trade, for instance, Musiri, Tondi, Korkai, Kaveri-paṭṭinam, sea-ports on the western and eastern coasts of Southern India which were nourished by secondary industries and foreign trade. Thus more people were released for occupations other than primary production, and thus opportunities were created for the introduction and development of formal education. Though Tamil society continues to cherish the values of a warrior society and even voluntary suicide by fasting to death is undertaken to vindicate a point of honour in the same manner as the religious suicide of the Jains,[6] there is an insistence on intellectual perfection and a moral enrichment and an uninhibited development of music and other arts in addition to the warrior ethics and arts of the bardic period. From the warrior ethics developed gradually more universal values. For instance, the Kōsar, a fierce and warlike tribe, are said to be as true to their word as are their arrows to hit their targets.[7]

What are the differences in function which appear between the categories of bard and of poet ? The bard is a peripatetic with his troupe and his family whereas the poet journeys alone ; the bard and his troupe entertain, act plays, sing, praise and dance and use musical accompaniment, whereas the poet instructs and counsels as one having

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[5] See MORTIMER WHEELER, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, p. 141.

J. M. CASAL, *Fouilles de Virampatnam-Arikamedu*, Librairie Klincksieck, Paris, 1949.

PIERRE MEILE, *Les Yavanas dans l'Inde Tamoule*, in *Melanges Asiatiques*, pp. 85-123, 1940-1942.

[6] *Puram.*, 65, 66, 236.

[7] *Puram.*, 169. *Kur.*, 15, 73.

authority, scholarship and learning with an unaccompanied technique of poesy ; the bard is the voice of the community, whereas the poet goes under his own name and his poems are mostly personal, expressive of his own relations with his patron and his own reflective thoughts ; the bard is more the entertainer of the people and of the court while the poet is found mostly in the court and in gatherings of poets of his own standing and learning ; the bards sing panegyrics, martial exhortations and heroic verse, while the poet's preoccupations even when praising a king's value are with human conduct and ethics and morals ; the bard may be found in the battlefield during this period to exhort the troops to bravery, but the poet has no place in the battlefield except as a peacemaker or through excess loyalty to a king or chief who is his valued friend. The Tamil names for a bard and his troupe were derived from roots which are associated with music, drama and dance, while the name for a poet is associated with a word which signifies general knowledge, reasoning and learning.[8]

That the period represented by the anthologies was truly a poetic stage of culture and education is admirably illustrated by comparing it with the subsequent epoch of the longer poems, the *Silappatikāram-Manimēkalai* period when the place of the poet has been almost taken by the religious teacher and the philosopher. The poet seems to vanish from the foreground and it is the philosopher who uses the language and the conventions of poetry. But during this poetic stage, the number of poets and the range of their activities more than amply illustrate the formal function of education which they performed among their groups of disciples and the informal education which they imparted as the moral guides, informal law-givers and counsellors of society. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai has distributed the four hundred and fifty-nine Tamil poets of the earlier anthologies over ten generations extending from 50 B.C. to 200 A.D., which gives an average of about forty

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[8] Compare Panan, kuttan, virali with pulavan.

for each generation of twenty-five years. From the several allusions to gatherings of poets at the courts and the institution of poesy as the educational technique of the age, we may rightly infer that the average of forty poets for each generation represents but a very small number among their contemporaries whose works have perished.[9]

An analysis of these poets and poetesses according to their places of origin shows that they belonged to various cities, townships and villages of the Tamil kingdoms, and an examination of the occupational and social groups to which they belonged shows that the poets and poetesses came from royalty, from agricultural and merchant classes and from various trades and crafts. Of the one hundred and forty-seven different poets in the *Puranānūru* anthology alone, about fifteen are women and fourteen are kings.[10] This and other anthologies include princesses and men and women of different groups, such as the mountain and marauding clans, as well as medical men, mathematicians, astronomers, carpenters, blacksmiths and potters.[11] Avvai, the most renowned of the poetesses, moves about royal courts and is as much the friend of kings and chiefs, their counsellor and as powerful a teacher of Tamil society as any of her poet contemporaries. The names and occupations of the poets and poetesses of the Tamil country show that learning and poesy were not restricted to any particular sex or occupation and that poetic composition was indulged in not only by professional poets but also by others who found in poetry an accepted form of expressing their knowledge, their thoughts and their emotions.

The bards and poets by their frequent visits to kings and chiefs all over the Tamil country brought about a

[9] K. N. SIVARAJA PILLAI, *The Chronology*, op. cit., p. 192.
S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI, *History of Tamil Language and Literature* in TC Vol. III, (1954) p. 346 ff.

[10] See S.I.SS.W. Publishing Society, *Lectures on Purananuru* (Tm), p. 30 ff.

[11] Cf. *Puram*, 30, 1-6.

certain cultural, language and literary uniformity within the Tamil kingdoms, and contributed not a little to political stability, unity and understanding between various Tamil kings and chiefs. Further their frequent allusions to cities, festivals, friendly meetings of kings, to celebrated patrons and to famous battles established a sense of tradition and history within the Tamil country.

Tamil society had its own religions. The anthologies contain references to the worship of Murugan, Siva, Viṣnu and other lesser deities, but the priests of the religions at this stage do not appear to have formulated even formal systems of religious education. Probably a strong current of Saivaite philosophy and personal devotion (bakthi) to the God of one's choice was existent, but, unlike the North Indian society, Tamil society included no dominant priestly caste or organised monasticism to impart even an "official" religious education. Neither did Tamil society have a revealed book or revealed scriptures to establish ethical and moral norms. The poetic period in the Tamil country was like the poetic period in Greece, and the poets themselves, and not priests, were the teachers of ethics and morals.[12]

The social standing of the poets in the Tamil country is shown by the numerous examples of poets who refuse to be slighted by kings and curse kings and chiefs and rebuke them should they fail to confer on them the regard, patronage and gifts which are their due.[13] A poet who is slighted by a king hastens to another chief famous for

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[12] The following article by an eminent Hindu scholar is important as confirmatory evidence of the conclusions reached in these pages with regard to early Tamil religion.

SWAMI VIPULANANDA, *The Development of Tamilian Religious Thought* in TC Vol. V. (1956) number 2, p. 254 ff.

See W. JAEGER, *Paideia*, op.cit., p. 148: "In the age of the Presocratics, the poet was still the undisputed leader of his people; and he was being joined by the lawgiver and statesman. There was no change in this situation until the rise of the sophists".

On the cultural history of ancient systems of education see

WILLIAM A SMITH, *Ancient Education*, Philosophical Library, New York, 1955.

[13] *Puram*, 196, 250-211.

his gifts, returns with an elephant received as a gift from the chief and ties the elephant to a tree in the defence-thickets of the king who slighted him, an act tantamount to an insulting declaration of war.[14] Another poet discriminates between two princes whom he meets, embraces one and does not embrace the other. On being asked by the prince who was slighted why he should have treated him so, the poet replies:

"This other prince belongs to a family which, if the chief were away from home, has conferred gifts to us (poets) through their women-folk who would even adorn themselves for the occasion; but you belong to a family which has shut its door in our face. Since then we have avoided your hills".[15]

The poet Kapilar, a great friend of Pāri, a patron chief of bards and poets, advises the kings who besiege his mountain fortress that it cannot be taken by elephants and armies. They might capture it if the kings went dancing and singing with bardic troupes following them.[16] A poet's praise is accounted worthy of heaven while his curse results in an entire town ending in ruins so that the town remains only a memory and a name.[17] Something of the fierce moralising of the Hebrew prophets and their championship of social justice and truth is seen vested in the Tamil poets, and this is no surprise, since it is the prophetic function of original shamanism which appears developed among the Hebrew prophets while the poetic function of the shaman is found developed in Tamil society.

The social prestige of the Tamil poets is again evident in the manner in which they are received and feasted at

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[14] *Puram*, 162.
[15] *Puram*, 151.
[16] *Puram*, 109, 15-18.
[17] *Puram*, 27 and 202. In *Puram*, 72 the young sovereign who has composed the poem swears that should he fail to achieve victory against the other kings who have joined against him, may he turn out to be an unrighteous sovereign whose subjects curse his cruelty, and may his territory be forever forsaken by the band of illustrious poets headed by Mankudi Marutan.

courts, and in their frequent interventions in political affairs, often counselling against war either because of its baneful effects or because of the power of the enemy, sometimes urging Tamil unity against non-Tamil foes, or a confederation of two or more kings, or dissuading unjust taxation or pleading on behalf of rebel sons and subjects and innocent victims condemned to torture.[18] The kings had their assemblies of counsel and government, but the poets enjoyed an advisory and teaching capacity even more than they. The following poem which urges the minor king Pēkan to return to his lawful wife whom he had condemned to a life of loneliness is a subject about which four celebrated poets have sung poems upbraiding Pēkan and interceding on behalf of his lawful queen, Kaṇṇaki, that he might live with her again. Arisil Kiḷar is persuasive even in his imperious manner :

> " Be thy rare gems and treasures what they may,
> We seek not these, O Pēkan, great in war,
> When with our little lyre, in tender strains,
> The fruitful fields of thy good land we sing,
> If pleased thou boon on me bestow, O King,
> Thy spouse, erewhile with choicest gems adorned
> Now suffers bitter grief because no love is hers.
> Let her this night perfume her tresses bright
> Like pea-fowl's plumes upgathered by the wind,
> And wreathe her brow with fragrant blooms—
> Yoke to thy mighty car thy swiftest steeds ".[19]

Another poet dissuades a king from a heavy taxation of agriculturists. As the economy became diversified and as foreign trade brought greater wealth, rulers seem to have overlooked agrarian welfare. The poet points out that even " the victory of the army that is engaged in a last-ditch combat is the result of the efforts of the army of the plough " and adds :

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[18] See e.g., *Puram*, 43-47, 58, 92, 95, 97, 102, 104, 109, 110, 143-145, 212-213, 246, 336. Cf. Patir, *passim re* gifts given to poets.

[19] *Puram*, 146. The translation is by G. U. POPE in IA. See also 143-145 and 147.

"If thou has marked and known this well
Reject the wily counsels of malicious men,
Lighten the load of those who till the soil,
The dwellers in the land protect. If thou do this
Thy stubborn foes shall lowly bend beneath thy feet".[20]

There occur in the *Puranānūru* anthology accounts of close friendship between kings and poets. Some of them even choose to die of voluntary starvation together with their royal friend when he decided upon that warrior manner of death.[21]

Learning and poesy were transmitted at this stage by formal discipleship. The titles of some of the poets in the colophons indicate that they were renowned teachers and had famous disciples.[22] Two aspects of learning were said to make the complete man, *kalvi*, the positive, personal effort at learning and apperception, and *kēḷvi*, the student's acceptance of instruction imparted by another. The word *kēḷvi*, literally "hearing", shows the oral and aural origin of learning, and even the most learned poets are praised by the contemporaries because of their two-fold competence, their learning and their having heard instruction from learned men.[23] Both personal effort and learning by hearing learned men are of little value unless the learner acquires the ability to impart his learning by clear, coherent, logical discourse and convince his hearers in the assembly of learned men (avai) or in the assembly of the king's advisers. The ideal of the poetic stage of education is a preparation for prominent civic life and the scene of intellectual activity shifts from the village community centre (manṟam) to the royal courts and assemblies of learned men. The life of learning is for the purpose of service to the community, and if time is expended

20 *Puram*, 35.
21 *Puram*, 214-223.
22 The titles added to the names indicate and differentiate between the more celebrated and the less celebrated poets and sometimes show the lineage of discipleship and special teaching functions.
23 E.G., *Puram*, 26, 12, 53, 12, 72, 13. See *Tirukkural*, Chapters 40 and 42.

in the acquisition of wealth it is in order that that wealth may serve those who are in want and that hospitality may be increased.

Though about twenty-two poetesses are counted among the four hundred and fifty-nine persons whose poems are found in the anthologies, no system of formal instruction is outlined for women. There is no strict segregation of the sexes, and courtship and mixed dances are described as popular, and women accoutred with daggers are found serving even in war-camps.[24] The ideal which is constantly kept before women in the Ancient literature is that of the chaste, loyal and loving wife. In a culture in which plants and flowers acquired a high degree of symbolism, chastity and marital love and loyalty are symbolised by the whitest and most fragrant of indigenous flowers, the mullai (jasmine). Poetic conventions in the *Tolkāppiyam* and in the anthologies have young women trained in aristocratic fashion and amidst aristocratic surroundings by an elderly nurse (sevili) with the companionship of a maid (tōḷi) who are both experts on the depths of love psychology plumbed by the Ancient Tamil poets.[25]

The universal value of formal education is stated in an oft-quoted poem in which formal education is taken for granted as the basis of self-realisation and recognition by the world :

" It is good to learn though it may involve a humble discipleship, humble service and paying an emolument. A mother among her many children is apt to like him most who is distinguished (by learning) ; among a group or class the king is apt to follow the counsel not of the eldest but of him who is well instructed, and even among those (Āryans) who preserve a fourfold division of society,

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24 *Mullaippattu*, (Ten Idylls) 45-49.

25 E.g., *Puram*, 116. *Nar*, 159, 331. *Aham*, 190.

suppose one of a lower caste were to be known for learning, one of a higher caste would be compelled to respect him (or seek his help)." [26]

The education and learning which are referred to in this poem and understood in the anthologies is not religious education even when learned men are known as "resplendent men".[27] It is a learning which perfects the learner and equips him for this life and for an honoured place in the assemblies of learned men and of the elders of a locality. It is no world-denying learning but one which affirms the world, its joys, and finds a self-sufficiency in human powers. It has a great love for children and for the home and knows little of a state of homelessness.[28] It is an education which equips the learner for courtship, marriage and a life of altruism. A great hero of the period, Āy, a warrior chief and patron of bards and poets is praised because he does not do good for "mercenary motives, in order to win praise in this life or happiness in the next", or because of the example of wise men but because good should be accomplished for its own sake. A. C. Bouquet has no grounds whatsoever to assume that "self-forgetful service of others" is in origin a Christian idea.[29] Altruism and "living not for self but for others" is recommended because of its own intrinsic worth and not for any future reward or for the benefit of a future birth.[30] Albert Schweitzer has pointed out the discovery of this ethic of goodness and benevolence in the *Tirukkural*, but it occurs even earlier than the book of gnomic verse and is an active and creative concept among a people whose literary records testify to a humanism, an optimism and an altruism which are the fundamental characteristics of ancient Tamil culture as yet uninfluenced in the main

26 *Puram*, 183

27 E.g., *Oliyor* in *Puram*, 539.

28 The anthologies of love poetry and the *Tolkappiyam* amply demonstrate this humanism. See, for instance, *Puram*, 188.

29 *Comparative Religion*, op. cit., p. 147.

30 *Puram*, 134, 136, 20 ff.

by the priestly and monastic cultures from Northern India.[31]

In order to assess this Tamil humanism one has to consider the entire complex of attitudes prevalent and fostered in Tamil society, and the abstractions and universals which comprise the conscious and unconscious metaphysic of the age as expressed in the anthologies. The love poetry and the panegyric poetry show the range of psychological insight of the poets themselves and the *Tolkāppiyam* is probably derived from one of the several compendia which existed as aids to the study of the phonetics, grammar, prosody and the conventions and psychology which were to guide poetic compositions. Life is considered pleasant and joyful, and death a sad ending; there is no attempt to obtain release from life except to vindicate honour and bravery and the love for a husband who has passed away; there is a note of nostalgic sadness in the poems about senescence and old age; liberality and ethical goodness are indulged in without motives of expiation and penance; rebirth is seldom spoken of in the earlier poems but the life after death is represented as an abode of permanent happiness for the good and permanent suffering for the wicked; happiness in the future world is conceded only to those who by their bravery and altruism have established their glory in this world;[32] love and courtship, marriage and children are considered necessary modes of human fulfilment and perfection of personality; and the norms and ideals of statecraft, ethics, truth, justice, equity, gratitude and love which run through the anthologies and the *Tirukkural* seem to make by comparison Kauṭilya, Manu and Vatsyayana small, exclusive and petty in the ideals and concepts they teach of moral and ethical goodness.[33]

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31 ALBERT SCHWEITZER, *Indian Thought*, op. cit., p. 200 ff.

32 *Puram*, 50, 14, 18; also see 18, 13, 21, 13, 24, 34, 135-6, 165, 174, 179, 9; 206, 8.

33 ALBERT SCHWEITZER, *ibid*, p. 201:

"What a difference between the *Kural* and the Laws of Manu which originated some four centuries before it! In the latter under the domin-

The following poem tersely expresses certain dynamic and creative thoughts underlying the poetic period :

> " Does this world really exist ? If it does, it is because therein live persons who if they came by even Indra's nectar would not consume it selfishly alone ; they bear ill-will towards none ; they fear not nor quail before what others fear ; they waver not. With ideals of striving not for their own good but for the good of the rest of men they live—hence one may believe the world exists ". [34]

This development of secular poetic thought was not to blossom forth immediately into a full and pure philosophy as it did in Greece. The political movements in India and Ceylon and international trade were bringing Indian kingdoms and foreign countries into very close relationship, and the political and commercial routes were also the highways along which Vedic Brāhmanism, Jainism, Buddhism and Ājīvikism travelled to the Tamil kingdoms. The *Silappatikāram*, *Manimēkalai* and the *Tirukkural* represent an age of philosophic thought, religious and secular and of inter-cultural contacts and inter-cultural conflicts.

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ance of the Brahmanic spirit, world and life affirmation is still just tolerated alongside world and life-negation. In the *Kural* world and life-negation is only like a distant cloud in the sky ".

[34] *Puram*, 182. See *Aham*, 55. High ideals are constantly emphasised. See simile in *Puram*, 69,5.

Agastya—His Non-Aryan Origin

K. R. RAJAGOPALAN[1]

INTRODUCTION

References to Agastya are found as early as the Rigvedic literature. He is generally considered as a Vedic Rishi and to him is attributed the composition of some of the Rigvedic hymns.[2] Fuller references to him are made in the epics, puranas and Tamil literature. He is regarded as the pioneer in the expansion of Aryan culture over South India and hence his importance and significance to many.[3] Obviously the various traditions that are associated with Agastya could not have related to one person only and it may be assumed that these traditions cover different members of the family of Agastya belonging to different generations. The origin of Agastya and his family is still shrouded on obscurity and scholars have paid little attention to the problem. Pargiter, for example, says that there is nothing to show when or how the Agastyas arose.[4] In a different context the same author writes that the Agastyas arose later but that their origin is uncertain.[5] An attempt is made here to point out the pre-Aryan and non-Aryan origin of Agastya and of his family, on the basis of

[1] The writer records his thanks to his guiding-professor Dr. L. B. Keny for the encouragement received from him in the course of the present study.

[2] R. V. I, 165-191.

[3] *e.g.* cf. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*; Caldwell, *Dravidian Comparative Grammar*; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*; V. Rangacharya, *History of Pre-Musalman India*, II, Pt. I; C. S. Srinivasachari, *Historical Interaction Between the Deccan and South India*, Carmichael Lectures (1918); K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, *Agastya in the Tamil Land*; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, (a) *History of South India*; (b) *Agastya, Overgedrukt uit het Tijdschrift voor. Ind. Taal—, Land— en Volkenkunde Deel LXXVI*, Jaarg. 1936 Afl. 4.; O. C. Gangoly, The Cult of Agastya: and the Origin of Indian Colonial Art, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, XVII, No. 3.

[4] *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, (1922), p. 240.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

references to (i) the story about his birth, (ii) the etymological significance of the name Agastya, (iii) his association with spells, charms and witchcraft as found in the Vedic literature, (iv) his association with the raksasas as found in the Puranas and (v) the evolution of Agastya gotra.

BIRTH-STORY OF AGASTYA AND ITS INTERPRETATION

Several works[6] relate the story that once when Mitra and Varuna saw together the apsaras Urvasi, their passions were excited and their reproductive fluid fell into a jar out of which was born Agastya. Thus Agastya is regarded as the son of Mitra and Varuna, both being Vedic gods.

From this story, it has been made out that Agastya had a miraculous birth and a divine origin. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri apparently admitting that the story conveys a miraculous birth, comments that a miraculous birth is the natural concomitant of the life history of all distinguished and holy personages.[7] Sivaraja Pillai, too, admits that the birth of Agastya is rather mysterious.[8] Many other scholars also subscribe to the same view. Now it may be examined whether such an interpretation of the story is acceptable.

It is well known that ancient Indian literature abounds in traditions and stories similar to that of the birth of Agastya. For instance, Drona is described as having been born from a vessel in which the Rishi Bharadvaja's generative fluid was deposited when he acquired a sudden passion

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[6] For a detailed study refer *Rigveda*, VII, 33, 10-13; *Brhaddevata* V, 149-154 (Ed. & Tr. by A. A. Macdonell, Harvard Oriental Series, V & VI, 1904); Katyayana's *Sarvanukramani* and Shadgurusishya's commentary entitled *Vedarthadipika* I, 166 (ed. by A. A. Macdonell, 1886); Sayana's commentary on the *Rigveda* (VII) — see Rigveda Samhita with the commentary of Sayanacharya III, Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala, Poona, 1941; Yaska's *Nirukta*, V sec. 13; *Ramayana*, VII chap. 56 & 57; *Matsya Purana*, chap. 61; *Padma Purana*, V, chap. 22; *Narasimha Purana*, chap. 6; *Devi Bhagavatam* VI, chap. XIV, Sec. 53-59; also cf. *Manimekhalai*, XIII-94-96 (ed. with notes by V. Swaminatha Iyer, 1931).

In all these accounts Vasistha also is spoken of as having been born along with Agastya.

[7] Agastya, *op. cit*, p. 473-474.

[8] *op. cit.*, p. 2.

for Ghrtaci.[9] Another sage, Kripa, is stated as having been born from the generative fluid of the sage Saradwat (Gautama) which fell down on a clump of heath when he saw the apsaras Janapadi.[10] Bhrgu and Angiras were born as a result of Prajāpati's lust for his daughter.[11] Some rishis also are described as born in mysterious ways.[12] Besides there are references to brother-sister unions, as in the story of Yama and Yami.[13] All these accounts appear as too mythical and unbelievable but it is possible to discern in them some historical significance. One should not discard them on the ground that they disclose a too unethical standard to be true.[14] Ethical standards vary from time to time, place to place, and people to people. What appears to us as monstrously unethical might conceivably have been recognised as quite ethical in primitive times and in primitive communities. Moreover, it is generally recognised that considerable mixture between the Aryans and the pre-Aryans or non-Aryans must have taken place right from the times the former entered India, resulting in a fusion between the two races, their cultures and traditions.[15] The stories under consideration including the story of the birth of Agastya, perhaps convey memories of primitive cultures, and of the effects of the intermingling of the Aryan and pre-Aryan and non-Aryan elements of

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9 *Mahabharata*, I, 121. v. 3-6 (ed. by V. S. Sukthanakar)

10 *MBH*, I, 130 cf. P. C. Roy's translation. I, pp. 266-267.

11 *Aitareya Brahmana*, III, 33-34. cf. Trans. by Martin Haug, II (1863) — for many more references to such examples of parental incest refer to S. C. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India* (1928), pp. 136-144.

12 See H. L. H. Hariyappa, Rigvedic Legends through the Ages, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, XI, 1950-51.

13 *R.V.*, X, 10, also cf. S. C. Sarkar, *Ibid.*, pp. 116-135.

14 Hariyappa justifies the presence of such legends by stating that the ancient sastras have recognised such ethical aberrations as examples to be avoided only and never to be followed. cf. *ibid.*

15 S. K. Chatterji says: 'It is now becoming more and more clear that the non-Aryan contributed by far the greater portion in the fabric of Indian civilization, and a great deal of Indian religious and cultural traditions, of ancient legend and history is justly non-Aryan translated in terms of the Aryan speech — as it was the Aryan speech that became the dominant factor, although non-Aryan elements made very large inroads into its purity......a great deal of Puranic and epic myth, legend and semi-history is pre-Aryan" — *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, (Eight Lectures) — Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad 1942, pp. 31-32.

culture and traditions. The story of Urvasi being shared by Mitra and Varuna[16] finds an echo in the primitive system of polyandry, observed during the age of the Pandavas and even now observed by many of the existing aboriginal tribes.[17] Further the reference to the story of the birth of Agastya even in the Rigveda establishes the antiquity of the system.[18] In the process of fusion of the two traditions —Aryan and pre-Aryan or non-Aryan— the original significance of the account of the birth of Agastya was perhaps forgotten and instead a fanciful mystery was attached to it as in the Rigvedic account.

Etymological significance of the name Agastya

No clear and acceptable etymological derivation of the name Agastya appears in any of the literary accounts which refer to him. An explanation is however given in the *Ramayana*[19] which reads as : *agastya iti vikhyato loke sevenaiva karmana.* This explanation is far from clear, but it has been commented upon by Sri Govindaraja as : *svena karmana vindhyastham-bhanarupena agastya iti vikhyatah*

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16 cf. S. C. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 80 f n. 7 and p. 151 f.n. 4.

17 It is interesting to note that among the Bhotiyas of north Assam, Polyandry is a recognised institution cf. W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India* (1907) p. 49.

The marriage customs of the Oraons and the Nagas for example are most primitive. The youths are supposed to sleep in a bachelor's hall; but the intercourse of the sexes is practically unrestricted, ante-nuptial connections are the rule rather than the exception, and marriage, as they understand the term, is equivalent to cohabitation. "To call this state of things immoral", says Risley, "is to apply a modern conception to primitive habits of life. Within the tribe (Oraons) indeed, the idea of sexual morality seems hardly to exist, and the unmarried Oraons are not far from the conditions of modified promiscuity which prevails among many of the Australian tribes." cf. Crooke, *ibid.*, p. 77. Also refer to Verrier Elwin, *Myths of Middle India* (Oxford University Press, 1949).

18 Mention may be made of the view of D. D. Kosambi who says "It is clear that Vasistha and Agastya as being born from the urn, are giving a good Aryan translation of their birth from a pre-Aryan or non-Aryan mother-goddess. The effective change is from the absence of a father to the total denial of a mother, a good marxist anti-thesis necessitated by the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy." Urvasi and Pururavas, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series 27, Pt. I (1951) pp. 27-28. Also cf. his article "The Study of Ancient Indian Tradition", *Indica*, Indian Historical Research Institute, Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, Bombay, 1953.

19 III, 11, 81. Kumbakonam edition.

agam stambhayati iti agastya iti vyutpatteh. Here is an allusion to an exploit often attributed to Agastya in connection with his arresting the abnormal growth of the Vindhyas. In the *Vachaspatya*[20] the name Agastya is explained as *agam vindhyacalam sthyayati sthabhnati iti agastya.* According to most of the commentators[21] the name Agastya arose out of the tradition in regard to the suppression of the Vindhyas. This derivation cannot be accepted as the Vindhyas were unknown to the Sanskrit speaking Aryans of the Rigvedic period. The probability is that a non-Aryan name which had traditions associated with mountains was adopted as early as the Rigvedic times[22]. It is interesting to note here that Agastya is associated not only with the Vindhyas but also with some other mountains. In the *Bhagavata*[23] and *Matsya*[24] *Puranas,* Agastya is spoken of as a resident of Mount Malaya and as performing *tapas* seated therein. In one of the chapters of the *Vayu Purana*[25] (*bhuvanavinyasa*) Agastya's abode is located on the Mandara mountain in the Malayadvipa across the seas. Agastya's residence is also stated to be Mount Kunjara in Kerala.[26] According to Tamil literature, Agastya is associated with the Podiyil hill in South India.[27] The association of Agastya with mountains is in line with non-Aryan traditions relating to

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20 Pt. I, compiled by Taranatha Taraka Vachaspati Calcutta, 1873, — the name Agasti which is regarded as an equivalent to Agastya is also derived as *agam vindhyacalam asayati iti agasti.*

21 cf. for example *The Namalinganusasana — Amarakosha of Amarasimha* with the commentary of Bhanuji Dikshit edited with notes by Pandit Sivadatta of Jeypur, 4th edn., Bombay, 1915; also Kshiraswamin's commentary on *Amarakosha,* Poona, 1913, p. 17. Refer also to Sir M. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary.* It is interesting it is shown in this dictionary that one of the names of Siva is Agastya.

22 It is admitted generally that some of the non-Aryan names were Sanskritised as for example the Minas were called in Sanskrit the Matsyas.

23 X, 79, 17 cf. V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Purana Index,* Vol. I.

24 61, 36-41.

25 cf. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Agastya, op. cit.,* p. 486.

26 Holtzmann, *Zeitschrift der Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 34 (1880) p. 590. cf. K. A. N. Sastri, *op. cit.,* p. 478.

27 *Manimekhalai,* Canto I lines 1-5; *Silappadikaram* III 1, XII, XIV 14-15. also cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India* V, New Edition, 1908, p. 71.

mountains.[28] The derivation of the name Agastya on the basis of his association with the Vindhyas may therefore be interpreted as a survival of the non-Aryan traditions.

AGASTYA AS ADEPT IN WITCHCRAFT

In the *Atharvaveda* Agastya is associated with witchcraft.[29] Even in the Rigveda a hymn reveals this association of Agastya with spells and charms.[30] Generally spells and charms are indicative of a primitive culture. It is very likely therefore that the association of Agastya with spells and charms goes back to primitive times and the references to them in the Vedic literature indicate their survival from pre-Aryan days.[31] It is significant that, many works on alchemy and medicine in Tamil are ascribed to Agastya, but the extant works are of relatively late origin. Many works on tantric literature are also attributed to him.[32] Agastya is also referred to as a hunter and archer,[33] indicating the primitive culture to which he belonged.

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[28] The importance attached to the mountains, the evolution of the worship of mountains and founding settlements on mountain tops — all these are ascribed generally to the non-Aryans. cf. Buddha Prakash, Govardhana Puja, Its Historical and Cultural Significance, *The Poona Orientalist*, XVIII, 1953, pp. 13-18.

W. Crooke points out that the non-Aryan aboriginal tribes of Central India worship the mountains and that the belief in the sanctity of mountains widely prevails among the non-Aryan or Dravidian races. He also cites particularly the respect paid to the Vindhya ranges. In his opinion the veneration for mountains in the minds of the early Aryans might be a survival from the beliefs of non-Aryan races. cf. Crooke, The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, I, 1896. pp. 60-65. Also cf. J. A. MacCulloch, Mountains, Mountain-Gods etc. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, pp. 863-868.

[29] II, 32, 3 ; V, 23, 10. cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*.

[30] I, 191.

[31] R. D. Banerji admits the early fusion of the Aryans and the non-Aryans and he writes that the non-Aryan magicians and the Dravidian priests became Brahmanas. cf. *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, pp. 37-38. Pargiter points out that the original Brahmans were not so much priests as 'adepts' in matters supernatural, 'masters' of magico-religious force, wizards and medicine men. He also at the same time points out that Brahmanism originally was not an Aila or Aryan institution and that the earliest Brahmans were connected with the non-Aryan peoples and were established among them when the Ailas entered. cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 306-308.

[32] cf. R. Shamasastry, A Theory on the Origin of the Devanagari Alphabet, *Indian Antiquary*, XXXV.

[33] cf. H. Jacobi, Agastya, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, p. 181.

Agastyas as Raksasas

In the *Vayu Purana*[34] Agastyas are classified as rakshasas along with Vaisvamitras and Paulastyas under the rule of Kubera. In the *Matsya Purana*[35] also, Agastyas are counted among the Brahmarakshasas and followers of Kubera. Rakshasas are not anywhere treated as Aryan. The writers of the Puranas were presumably aware of the association of the original Agastyas with some of the non-Aryan tribes:[36] Agastya is actually referred to as the son of Pulastya, who was the progenitor of tribes like the rakshasas.[37]

Evolution of Agastya Gotra

Amongst the Brahmanic clans (gotras), there are eight main *gotra-kara* risis whose names are Visvamitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvaja, Gotama, Atri, Vasistha, Kasyapa and Agastya.[38] According to the Mahabharata, however, there were only four original *gotra-kara* risis, viz. — Bhrgu, Vasistha, Kasyapa and Angiras. This suggests that the Agastya gotra was accepted in the Brahminic fold only at a later date.[39] It may be mentioned here that according

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34 Chap. 69, v. 195-196; Chap. 70, v. 53.

35 Chap. 121, v. 62.-63.

36 "Pulastya is said to be the father of Agastya and Visravas. Visravas had four sons, Kubera by Idavida (or Ilavila) and Ravana, Kumbhakarna and Vibhisana by Kesini. The saintly civilizer of Southern India, Agastya, is thus very closely indeed related to the chief of the hated raksasas, being in fact the uncle of Ravaṇa, the god-despising king of Lanka. While Ravana conquered India and reduced the gods to abject subjection, from which they were only rescued by Visnu appearing as Balarama, his uncle Agastya waged war with the demons and advised Rama how to subdue the raksasas. Similarly family discords assisted Rama in his warfare against Ravana and Bali (Vali) whose respective brothers Vibhisana and Sugriva joined Rama." Gustav Oppert, *On the Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa or India* (1894) p. 87. Also cf. Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 241-243.

37 *Vayu Purana*, Chap. 28 v. 22; *Vishnu Purana* ch. X; *Markandeya Purana*, Canto LII, v 22-23; *Bhagavata Purana*, IV, 1.36.

38 cf. P. V. Kane, Gotra and Pravara in Vedic Literature, *JBBRAS*. XI, New Series; C. V. Vaidya, Gotra and Pravara, *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, 1919, II. pp. 34-35, R. Fick, Gotras, *Enc. Re. E. Ethics*, VI, 1913, pp. 353-358.

39 Pargiter, as pointed out already, says that the Agastyas arose later and their origin is uncertain yet tradition connects them with the Deccan cf. *op. cit.*, p. 304.

to some scholars Brahmanic priesthood was itself a consequence of adoption by the Vedic Aryans of indigenous pre-Aryan priests.[40] One such family of pre-Aryan priests was presumably that of Agastya.[41]

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[40] cf. D. D. Kosambi, On the Origin of Brahmin Gotras, *JBBRAS*, New Series, XXVI. pp. 21-80; Also his article "Early Brahmins and Brahmanism *JBBRAS*, XXIII, pp. 39-46. Also Refer Pargiter, *op. cit.*, Ch. XXVI.

[41] When Agastya 'nourished both colours' in Rigveda I, 179, 6 it cannot mean two castes but both Aryans and non-Aryans for he belonged to both and his hymns show clearly the character of the compromise cf. D. D. Kosambi, Urvasi and Pururavas, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Also cf. N. N. Ghosh, The Origin and Development of Caste System in India, *Indian Culture*, XII, p. 178.

The Period of Religious Revival in Tamil Literature

S. ARUMUGA MUDALIAR

A study of the religious revival during the Pallava reign will not merely help students of Tamil literature and history to have a glimpse of the trends of Tamil literature during the period but will also serve as an introduction and suitable background for a proper understanding and assessment of the development of Tamil Literature during the time of the later Cholas. Even a cursory study of the literary works during the period will reveal two significant features. Firstly, the literature of the period distinctly religious in character having arisen with the sole objective of invigorating the indigenous faiths of the land, namely, Saivism and Vaishnavism, which were in conflict with Buddhism and Jainism. Secondly the evidence is clear that the Pallava kings were generally more anxious to patronise Sanskrit culture than to support, at any rate actively, Tamil literature, learning and education. A study of the numerous Pallava inscriptions brings out the fact that not one inscription relates to grants to any Tamil Colleges or institution for fostering Tamil learning and education, whereas we find a number of inscriptions relating to the promotion of Sanskrit learning and education.

The period roughly from 600 to 900 A.D. of the Pallava rule may be described as the age of religious revival in the History of Tamil Literature. During the Sangam Age, the prevalence of a spirit of religious tolerance and the study of the different religions of the times in a philosophic and friendly spirit, reinforced and strengthened the feeling of universal brotherhood fostered by the large-hearted and

far-seeing policy of the Tamil kings.[1] The Saiva, Vaishnava, Buddhist, Jaina and other faiths flourished, all side by side in a peaceful and tolerant atmosphere, not merely in the big capital cities like புகார் Puka:r or காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினம் Kavirippu:mpat:t:inam காஞ்சிபுரம் Kanjipuram வஞ்சி Vanji and Ut:anthai or உறையூர் Ut:aiyu:r but also in rural areas. We have a large body of evidence attesting the existence side by side of temples of the gods of not merely the Saiva pantheon but also of Vishnu, Muruha, Bala De:va and Indra, and Jaina and Buddhist shrines and monasteries.[2] Religious toleration was an article of faith and not merely a matter of policy with the Tamil kings of the period and the kings made liberal grants to religious institutions, irrespective of their doctrinal affiliation. We come across Buddhist and Jain poets in the third Sangam.

But, after the Sangam age, there came an interval of literary quiescence for about three centuries, probably due to the Kalabra Interregnum. The adherents of Buddhist and Jain religions, who had hitherto been peaceful, began to adopt a policy of aggressive expansion at the expense of the indigenous Saiva and Vaishnava faiths. They spread rapidly in the South with settlements in Kanji, கொங்கு நாடு Kongu Na:du and மதுரை Madurai. Many of the Buddhists and Jains of the time were great Sanskrit scholars; and, while they learnt the language of the soil (Tamil), became scholars and writers in Tamil, they not only imported Buddhist and Jain ideas and ideologies into Tamil but were also responsible for a large influx of Sanskrit and Pali words, phrases and idioms into the Tamil Language. They gradually exercised a powerful influence on the kings and chieftains as well; in the hey-day of the Pallava rule in the early years of the 7th century their influence was at its zenith. King மஹேந்திரவர்மன் Mahendra Varman

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1 *Manimekalai* — Kathai 27.

2 (i) *Silappatikaram* — Kathai V. Lines 169 to 181.
(ii) *Ibid* — Kathai XIV, Lines 7 to 14.
(iii) *Ibid* — Kathai IX, Line 60.
(iv) *Ibid* — Kathai IX, Lines 9 to 13.

(600 — 630 A.D.) was himself a Jain and greatly encouraged Jainism. If the story of his persecution of திருநாவுக்கரசர் Thiruna:vukarasar[3] who reverted to Saivism from Jainism to which he had earlier become a convert is correct, it is an indication that conversions of Saivas and Vaishnavas to the Buddhist and Jain faiths were not uncommon. It is curious that this Jain king who persecuted Thiruna:vukkarasar or Appar was himself converted in turn to Saivism by the very same Appar.

The devotees of Siva and Vishnu viewed such conversions with consternation and horror and were anxious to check the spread of these alien faiths. It was at this time that the great Saivite and Vaishnavite saints came on the scene and while arresting the spread of the new faiths, strengthened and deepened their own faiths. Travelling from one place of pilgrimage to another with their followers and devotees, singing the praise of their Lords, Siva and Vishnu, these Saiva and Vaishnava Acharyas, popularly known as நாயன்மார் Na:yanma:rs and ஆழ்வார் A:l-va:rs spread the bhakti cult.[4]

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3 (i) *Tirunavukkarasar Tevaram — Tiruvarur Palamoli Pattu* — Verse 10 — Last line — The term கரும்பிருக்க இரும்பு கடித்து எய்த்தவாறு is taken to mean a pathetic reference to his original faith of Saivism described as கரும்பு or sugarcane and adopting the foreign faith of Jainism described as இரும்பு or iron. In fact the terms கனி and காய் in verse 1 of this patikam, அறம் and மறம் in verse 3, விளக்கு and மின்மினி in verse 7, and தவம் and அவம் in verse 9 are taken to refer to these faiths only in turn.

(ii) *Ibid* — Tiruchenkkattankudi Patikam — Verse 4 last lines 3-4.

(iii) The following lines refer to his having been once a Jain and the peculiar habits and practices of the Jains some of which are no doubt exaggerated.

Ibid — Tiruvaiyaru Patikam — beginning with குண்டனாய்ச் சமணரோடு verses 7, 5, 4, 3, 2 & 1 and 8.

(iv) *Ibid* — Tiruppuhalur — Tirunerisai — Verse 4.

3-A *Tirunavukkarasar Tevaram* — Namaccivayattiruppatikam — Verse 1.

(ii) *Ibid* — Tirunanipalli Patikam — Verse 5 lines 3-4.

(iii) *Ibid* — Tirunilakkudi Patikam — Verse 7.

4 (i) Tirumalisai Alwar — Nanmukan Tiruvantati, Verse 6.

(ii) *Ibid.* Verse 14.

(iii) *Ibid.* Verse 26.

(iv) *Ibid.* Verse 84.

Thus arose the religious revival of the period; and thus the Tamil works of the period happened to be mainly religious in tone, character and sentiment and propagated the Saivite and Vaishnavite doctrines of bhakti and mukti. It was a period of continuous feud and enmity among the votaries of the different faiths. The hymns of some of the Nayanmars and Alwars of this age make specific references to some kings,[5] personalities and incidents, which help us greatly in fixing their chronology.

THE: VA: RAM OF APPAR AND SAMBANDAR

The The: va: ram hymns sung by அப்பர் Appar, சம்பந்தர் Sambandar, and சுந்தரர் Sundarar in this period were collected and codified later by Nambiyandar Nambi (நம்பியாண்டார் நம்பி) into the first seven volumes of Saivite Tirumurais or sacred books; Sambandar's hymns comprising the first three volumes, Appar's the next three and Sundarar's the seventh are in praise of Lord Siva and His divine attributes and are of exceeding elegance and sweetness. Unlike other literary works which betray the conscious efforts of their authors, these hymns evidence a spontaneous overflow of the religious zeal and love for God of these three Saivite saints. திருஞான சம்பந்தர் Tirunja: na Sambandar was originally known as ஆளுடைய பிள்ளை A: l: ut: aya Pil: l: ai (the child blessed with the Grace of the Lord.) Thirunavukkarasar was otherwise known as Appar and ஆளுடைய அரசர், the kingly person blessed with the

(v) The same Alwar — Santa viruttam — Verse 69.

(vi) *சாக்கியம் கற்றோம்.........பின் பழகிய. குரு பரம்பரை பக். 10.*

(vii) Tirunavukkarasar ஆதி புராணம் verse 2, 3, 7, 9 and innumerable places in his Tevaram describing Vishnu.

(viii) *Ibid.* இலிங்க புராணம் — Whole.

(ix) The 9th verse of all the Patikams of Sambandar describing Vishnu.

5 (i) Appar and his reference to King Mahendra Varman 600-630.

(ii) Sambandar and his reference to King Ankesari.

(iii) Sundarar and his reference to Kadavar Kon Kalarchingam.

(iv) Manikkavacakar and his reference to Varaguna II.

(v) Nammalvar and his *reference to* King Parantaka Nedunjadaiyan.

(vi) Tirumangai Alwar and his reference to Kings Nandi Varman and Vairamekan etc.

Grace of the Lord and Sundaramurthi as ஆளுடைய நம்பி the youth blessed with the Grace of the Lord. Their songs generally dealt with Lord Siva of the various temples, situated in the sacred places of the Tamilakam and even beyond திருக்கேதீச்சரம் like Thirukke: di: ccaram and திருக்கோண மாமலை Thirukko: n: ama: malai in Ceylon திருப்பருப்பதம்-ஸ்ரீசைலம் Thirupparupatham or Sri Sailam in the district of Kurnool and திருக்கைலாயம்-திருக்கேதாரம் Thirukkaila: yam or Mount Kailas and Tirukkedaram or the modern Kedarnath temple in the Himalayas, most of which these saints had actually visited. These songs were generally in the form of பதிகம் patikams, or sets of ten verses each; the patikams of Sambandar and Sundarar contained eleven songs and, in the eleventh, it was their practice to mention their own name, as an indication of the authorship.

The The: va: rams of all the three saints are the manifestations of the popular bhakti cult in South India; they stand superb not merely in point of melody and in their power of being set to music or பண் pan:, but also from the point of view of emotional expression, religious fervour and literary excellence. Like their counter-parts in Vaishnavism, the Alvars, these Tevaram authors appeared on the scene when the aggressive domination of Buddhism and Jainism in the Tamil land filled the Saivites with dismay and set out to assert the worth of their own faiths and thereby put an end to proselytising by alien faiths. Devoting their lives to the cause of their faiths, these Nayanmars and Alvars preached Bhakti or love for Lords Siva and Vishnu; they are reported to have worked miracles with the help of their Gods and defeated the Buddhist and Jain missionaries in open religious discourses. Sambandar[6] condemns Jainism for its contemptuous attitude towards the vedas and vedic rites. Thirunavukkarasar often attacks Buddhists and Jains in a language of unusual pungency. It is strange that this saint, who was himself attracted to the Jain faith from Saivism once and who came back to

6. வேத வேள்வியை நிந்தை செய்துழலுவர்.

Saivism through the untiring effort and tenacious persuasion of his elder sister, should refer to the adherents of the Jain faith in somewhat unseemly[6-A] language. Thirunavukkarasar or Appar as he is popularly known, was the elder contemporary of Sambandar. Appar lived upto a ripe old age of 81. Apart from tradition, we have ample literary and epigraphic evidence for fixing his age; these pieces of evidence cover the period from the last decades of the 6th century to the latter half of the 7th centuary A.D. i.e. during the reigns of Mahendra Varman I, the Pallava king (600-630) and நெடுமாறன் Neduma:tan, the Pandiyan king (670-710). According to Periyapuranam, Appar converted Mahendra Varman to Saivism. The king had persecuted him for having deserted Jainism and gone back to Saivism, but the miraculous powers by which he escaped the tortures to which he was subjected (references to which appear in Appar's own hymns[7]) apparently moved the king himself to embrace Saivism. The king embraced Saivism probably about 620 A.D. and then constructed a number of rock-cut temples for Siva at Vallam, Mahe:ndrava:di, Dalavanur, Si:yamangalam, Palla:varam etc., besides the rock-cut temple at Tirucccirappal:l:i, in which are found two of his inscriptions[7-A]. These record that the king Gun:abhara constructed a temple on the top of the mountain and installed therein a linga and a statue of himself and include a prayer for long life to the king Gun:abhara, who returned from 'Vibaksha Vrutti' or hostile conduct through the Grace of the Linga. Vibaksha Vrutti evidently refers to the king's initial adherence to Jainism. குணபரன் Gun:abhara is one of the titles occurring in the inscriptions of Mahendra Varman. Periyapuranam affords literary evidence in support. It states that the Pallava king of the times built a temple for Siva at Tiruvadikai called 'Guna-

6-A (i) Tirunavukkarasar Tevaram Tiruvaiyaru Patikam — All the 10 verses.
(ii) *Ibid* — Tirupalayarai Patikam — Verse 1-9.
(iii) *Ibid* — Tiruvarur Palamoli — Verse 1, 3, 8.
(iv) *Ibid* — Tirutturutti Tirunerisai — Verse 9.

7 Vide 3-A supra.

7-A 5 I. I. Vol. I No. 33 — Page 29.

dhare:ccuram '.[8] Evidently it ought to be 'Gunabhare:-ccuram', the i:ccuram or Siva temple built by Gun:abhara.

Appar was the elder contemporary, as we have seen, of Sambandar, with whom he had stayed and travelled now and then.[9] Along with Sambandar, he met some of his (Sambandar's) other devotees and friends like சிறுத்தொண்டர் Situtton:dar, முருகர் Muruhar and நீல நக்கர் Ni:la Nakkar. Siruttondar was the Commander-in-Chief of King Paramesvara Varman I during the Pallava invasion of the Chalukyan territory and the storming of Vatapi the Chalukyan capital and Appar might therefore have met him about 677 A.D.

When Thirunavukkarasar was a Jain, he was acclaimed as a leader of the Jainas, as he was well versed in the Jaina tenets. In fact, the king gave him the title of தர்ம சேனர் 'Dharmase:na'[10]. The time of re-conversion to Saivism may probably have been about 620.

Sometime after re-embracing Saivism he is reported to have met the boy-saint Sambandar at சீகாழி Si:ka:l-i just after the latter's holy-thread investiture at about the age of seven. Sambandar was anxious to meet Tirunavukkarasar, who had withstood triumphantly through the Grace of Lord Siva, the persecutions of the Pallava king, Mahendra I; Tirunavukkarasar was equally anxious to meet the famous boy-saint, who was blessed with the Lord's Grace when he was only three years old. Assuming that Sambandar met the Commander-in-Chief of Parame:svara Varman I somewhere in 677 in his thirteenth year, he had probably met Tirunavukkarasar for the first time a few years earlier. Tirunavukkarasar was, according to Periyapuranam, old enough at the time of his meeting Sambandar first at Sikali, to be called by him in veneration and awe as

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[8] *Periyapuranam* — Tirunavukkarasar Puranam — Verse 146.
[9] *Ibid* — Verses 152, 187, 231, 34, 267, 396, 397, 250-60.
[10] *Periyapuranam* — Tirunavukkarasar Puranam — Verse 39.

'Appar'[11] or father. He was already showing signs[12] of old age; probably he was looking older than his real age due to the suffering he had undergone as a result of persecution by the Jain king. The account of his life in Periyapuranam indicates that a number of years must have elapsed between their first meeting in Sikali and the death of Appar. By comparing the incidents of his life with those of Sambandar, we are able to arrive at some clear chronological sequences. If we presume, that Appar was about 75 years in 671 when he first met Sambandar and allowing about 6 years for the pilgrimages he made before his last days, he died probably in 677. In this period (from 671 to 677) he met also Nedumaran[13], the Pandiyan king, the கூன் பாண்டியன் Ku:n Pa:n:t:iyan who was converted to Saivism by Sambandar. Accepting the tradition[13-A] that Appar lived to the age of 81, we may roughly fix his period as 596 to 677 A.D.

Sambandar, the "precocious Saiva saint" was born at Sikali (the taluk headquarters of that name in the Tanjore District).[14] His parents were சிவபாத இருதயர் Sivapa:da Hirudayar and பகவதியார் Bagavathiya:r. They were both great devotees of Siva. Sambandar is said to have been fed by Goddess பார்வதி Pa:rvathi (consort of Siva) herself, who gave him her own milk, when he was crying of hunger, on the banks of the tank near the local Siva temple, where his father who had taken him there was bathing.[15] Having drunk the holy milk of divine wisdom, he became known as Tirunjnana Sambanda (*lit.* one related to divine knowledge); the child was also called ஆளுடைய பிள்ளை A:l:ut:aiya Pil:l:ai the child that received the grace of God. From then on he began to pour forth sweet melodious hymns on Siva; these are spontaneous expressions of the saint's inmost experience

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11 *Ibid* — Verse 182.
12 *Ibid* — Tirugnanasambandar Puranam — Verse 270.
13 *Ibid* — Tirunavukkarasar Puranam — Verse 405.
13-A Srinivasa Pillai Tamil Varalaru Part II — p. 68.
14 *Ibid.* Tirugnanasambandar Puranam — Verse 14-15.
15 *Ibid.* Verse 67-68.

in praise of Lord Siva and his Grace. The first[16] pathikam contains the songs sung in reply to his father's demand for an explanation of the cup of milk in his hand, out of which he was drinking.

This miracle is reported to have taken place in the third year of his life. After his sacred thread-wearing ceremony, which is usually done at the age of seven, Sambandar met Thirunavukkarasar, whose fame had already reached him.

After a short sojourn at Sikali[17] with Thirunavukkarasar whom he called அப்பர் "Appar" (father), Sambandar went on a pilgrimage to the Siva shrines of the Chola country, visiting more than 100 temples. With the difficulty of transport existing in those distant days, travel, especially with hundreds of devotees following the saint, was probably very slow. We will not be wide of the mark if we allow five to six years for completion of this Cholanadu pilgrimage; he finally reached திருச்செங்காட்டங்குடி Tiruccenka:t:t:tangudi,[18] the native place of பரஞ்சோதி Paranjo:thi popularly known as Siruttondar, who received Sambandar with all respect and honour and entertained him. Sambandar in turn honoured him by recording Siruttondar's devoted service to Lord Siva in his patikam[19] in praise of the lord of the local temple.

Siruttondar, according to historians, happened to be the commander-in-chief of the then Pallava king Narasimha Varman I (630-688). The northern contemporaries of this king were King Pulakesin II of the Chalukyas whose capital was at Vatapi and King Harshavardhana of Kanauj. Narasimha Varman invaded the western Chalukyan kingdom and laid waste its capital Vatapi in 642 and erected

16 Tirugnanasambandar Tevaram — Tiruppiramapura Patikam.

17 (i) Vide 9 — V. 182-187.
(ii) Vide 9.

18 (i) *Periyapuranam* — Tirugnanasambandar Puranam V. 468-70.
(ii) *Ibid* — Siruttondanayanar Puranam V. 23.

19 (i) *Ibid* 420 and
(ii) Sambandar Tevaram — Tiruccenkattankudi Patikam V. 1-10.

a pillar of victory. According to Periapuranam,[20] Siruttondar went on an expedition to the north as the commander-in-chief of this army and brought home to his king, an enormous booty. After this heroic battle, he retired from official duties and devoted himself to the service of Lord Siva in his native village; it was at this time that Sambandar paid him a visit.[21]

At the time of this visit Siruttondar had a child named சீராள தேவர் Sira:l:a De:var of three years of age.[22] Allowing, say, three years between Siruttondar's return from the war and the birth of the child, we can assume 648 as the year of this meeting. From this Siruttondar—Vatapi synchronism, the age of Thirunjna:na Sambandar has been fixed round about 642 by historians.

At the time of his meeting Appar for the first time at Sikali, just after his sacred thread-wearing ceremony, Sambandar was probably seven years of age and allowing six years for his pilgrimage as explained earlier, he would have been about 13 years of age when he met Siruttondar at his birth place in 648.. After a short tour of Saivite shrines from this place in the company of Appar, Sambandar at the invitation of the Pandiyan queen[23] மங்கையர்க்கரசியார் Mangaiyarkkarasiya:r (The Queen among women) and the Pandiyan Prime Minister குலச்சிறையார் Kulaccitaiya:r went to the Pandiyan country. The Pandiyan king Nedumaran alias கூன்பாண்டியன் Kun Pandiyan —the hunch-backed Pandiyan had at this time renounced his Saivite faith and embraced Jainism; many of his followers and subjects presumably followed suit. This caused great anxiety and concern to the queen and it was with this purpose that they sent out an invitation to Sambandar to tour the Pandiyan kingdom. Sambandar readily accepted the invitation and went to

20 *Periyapuranam* — Siruttondar Puranam — V. 6.
21 *Ibid* — V. 8-11.
22 *Ibid* — V. 17 & 22.
23 *Periyapuranam* — Tirugnanasambandar Puranam 603-616.

Madurai, the Pandiyan capital, where he was received with great respect and enthusiasm[24] by the chief minister himself. The Jainas of the place attempted to kill him by setting fire to his residence, but fortunately he survived this attempt. The queen visited him[25] after this incident. In the religious disputations between the two sides, the Jainas[26] on the one side and Sambandar on the other, the latter came out victorious and the king, who was suffering from a severe illness, was also cured by Sambandar. Thereupon the king re-embraced[27] his original faith, Saivism.

Leaving Madurai for a while, the saint went on a further tour in the Tamil Nad. Considering the number of places he visited, we may surmise that this tour lasted about 3 years. He was then probably 16 and married, as that was the traditional age for marriage in those days. On the day of the marriage, Sambandar is believed to have attained salvation along with his bride at the very altar of the marriage. This accords with the tradition according to which he lived for 16 years.[28]

Thus according to the historians, who base their arguments on the contemporaneity of Siruttondar and Sambandar, Sambandar lived around 642 and if he had, as we have shown before, met Siruttondar at the age of thirteen somewhere about 648 A.D., he married in say, 651. His date would thus be 635 to 651 A.D.

We are confronted however with the difficulty of reconciling the contemporaneity of Sambandar and Siruttondar (648) with the other contemporaneity of Sambandar with the Pandiyan king Nedumaran, whom he converted to Saivism. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri identifies this Nedumaran with Arike:sari Para:nkusa Ma:tavarman,[29] the

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24 *Ibid* — 655-659.
25 *Ibid* — 725-28.
26 *Ibid* — 770.
27 *Ibid* — 810.
28 *Tamil Varalaru* — Srinivasa Pillai Part II p. 68.
29 *Pandiyan kingdom* — p. 53 et seq.

4th king of the First Pandiyan empire according to the Ve:l:vikkudi grant and the 1st according to the larger Sinnamanu:r plates. He is said to have reigned from 670-710 A.D. If it was indeed this king, who was converted to Saivism by Sambandar, then Sambandar must have lived even beyond 651, i.e., during the period of 670 to 710 A.D.

This conflict in dates cannot be explained satisfactorily unless either (i) Sambandar actually lived for a much longer period than 16 years, i.e., up to between 670-710 A.D., which makes it possible for him to have been the contemporary of both Siruttondar and Nedumaran, or (ii) Siruttondar led an expedition on Vatapi twice, the second one being between 670-710 A.D., and that he retired to a religious life after this second expedition. As for literary evidence for this later raid, we may take the stanza in Periyapuranam's account of Siruttondar mentioned before, to mean not the raid during Narasimha Varman's reign, but the one during his successor Paramesvara Varman's reign. For, in the stanza[30] under reference, neither Narasimha Varman, whose commander Siruttondar has been assumed to be, nor the year 642 A.D. are specifically mentioned. It merely contains the word மன்னவன் Mannavan and வாதாபித் தொன்னகரம் Vatha:pittonnakaram without the date. Mannavan merely means the king and Vatapittonnakaram means the old city of Vatapi.

Narasimha Varman was called in his inscriptions[31] வாதாபிகொண்ட நரசிம்மவர்மன் 'Vatha:pi Kont:a Narasimha Varman'—he who took Vatapi—and this is clearly an indication of his having stormed the city of Vatapi. Somewhere about the closing years of his father's reign, Pulikesin II advanced as far south as the capital of the Pallavas, forcing the Pallava king to retreat behind the wall of

30 Vide 21.
31 (i) Epigraphica Indica Vol. VI. P. 11
(ii) Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII. P. 275-276.
(iii) S. I. I. Vol. I. P. 114 and 152.
(iv) Salem Manual Vol. II. P. 356.

Ka:nji. Subsequently, we learn from the Ku:ram plates of Paramesvara Varman that Narasimha Varman inflicted a crushing defeat on Pulikesin in the battles of Man:imangala, Periya:la and Su:rama:ra. Shortly after the repulse of the Chalukyan armies from the neighbourhood of Kanji, Narasimha Varman prepared for a counter invasion of the Chalukyan territory presumably under the command of Paranjoti alias Siruttondar. The victorious march of the commander and his successful assault on the capital of Vatapi which has been identified with the modern Badami in the Bijapur District, are facts of history. The Velu:rpa:l:ayam[32] plates of Nandi Varman III and the mutilated inscription at Vatapi[33] refer to Narasimha Varman's victory over his enemies and his capture of "the Pillar of Victory standing in the centre of Vatapi".

The question is whether there was a second raid of Vatapi by his successor Parame:svara Varman I (670-685 A.D.) and whether Siruttondar continued as his commander and undertook this second raid also, somewhere about 671 A.D., i.e., when Arike:sari Nedumaran, the 'Ku:n Pa:ndiya', was cured of his malady by Sambandar and was thereby converted to the Saiva faith. If we can establish that there was a second raid of Vatapi by Siruttondar, the meeting of (i) Sambandar and Siruttondar and (ii) Sambandar and Nedumaran the Pandiyan king (670-710 A.D.) were both possible. In that event, after his return to his village after the second expedition in 670 A.D., Siruttondar met Sambandar some six years later, i.e., about 677 A.D. in his 13th year. In this view, the period of Sambandar would be between 664 and 680 A.D.

Considering the inimical relations which persisted between the Pallava king Paramesvara Varman and his Chalukyan contemporary Vikrama:ditya I, the possibility of a second assault on Vatapi cannot be dismissed. Accord-

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32 S.I.I. Vol. II. P. 511. Verse 11.

33 Indian Antiquary Vol. IX. P. 199.

ing to the Godval plates,[34] Vikramaditya conquered Kanjipura and went as far south as Ugrapura on the southern bank of the river Kaveri, identifiable with modern உறையூர் Utaiyu:r (a suburb of Tiruchirapalli) which was the capital of the Cholas during the Sangam days. According to Kielhorn[35] and Dr. Fleet, the year of Vikramaditya's encampment at Ugrapura was 674 A.D. Both the Kuram records and the Velurpalayam plates[36] refer to the rout of the enemy by the Pallava king though no details are furnished. On the other hand the Udayendram plates[37] of Nandi Varman Pallava Malla mention the site of the battle as Peruval:anallu:r about 16 miles north-east of Tiruchirapalli in the Lalgudi Taluk. High praise of the valour of Paramesvara Varman's men in the struggle with the enemy is given by the Kuram plates, from which we understand that the Pallava king's war elephant and his steed were called Arivarana and Atisaya respectively. As on the earlier occasion in 642 when Narasimha Varman pursued the retreating Pulike:sin to his very capital, it is not improbable that in 674 A.D. Parame:svara Varman pursued the retreating Vikrama:ditya as far as Vatapi and raided it. In an inscription of Parame:svara Varman in the Kailasana:thar Koil at Ka:njipuram, he is described as "Ugradandar, who destroyed the city of 'Rana Rasika'."[38] The surname ரணரசிகன் 'Ranarasika' is enjoined by Vikrama:ditya and the term "City of Ranarasika" obviously refers to Vatapi. In an article on the subject,[39] Venkataramanaiya comes to the same conclusion, i.e., that Vatapi was attacked a second time. In an article on Kodumbalur Vellirs, A. Rangaswami Saraswathi[40] establishes that Vatapi was totally destroyed by the Pallavas during a second attack in the reign of Paramesvara Varman.

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34 Epigraphica Indica Vol. X No. 22. P. 100-6.
35 R. Gopalan. Pallavas of Kanchi. P. 105.
36 (i) S.I.I. Vol. I. P. 144 and 152.
(ii) S.I.I. Vol. II. P. 511. Verse 12.
37 S.I.I. Vol. II. P. 371.
38 *Alwarkal Kula Nilai* by M. R. Iyengar (1931) P. 108.
39 Christian College Magazine 1927 — P. 236-247.
40 Vizianagaram College Magazine 1930-31.

It would be worth while investigating whether epigraphical and other historical evidence could be found to support this hypothesis of a second attack on Vatapi by Siruttondar, as the other alternative is to discard the tradition which gives the age of Sambandar as 16 years and admit the probability of his having lived at least another twenty years.

Nakkiirar the Earliest Tamil Mystic

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM

Nakkiirar or Kiirar the Great is considered to be a poet of the *Sangam* or the Tamil Academy of Ancient Madurai of the earlier centuries of the Christian Era. He is the reputed author of a famous Tamil poem *Tiru-Murukar-ruppatai*, found included in the old Anthology of Ten Idylls, and later in the Eleventh Book of Saivism. This XIth Book consists, preponderatingly of Pre-Tevaram Poems (if Nampiantaar's Poems are omitted), collected in the Tenth century, under the patronage of the *Colas*, long after the religious revival of the Saivite Naayanmaars and the Vaisnavite Aalvaars. Even if this tradition is not true, for others suggest a later age and differentiate the author of this poem from the Sangam poet of the same name, the poem on all sides is admitted to be anterior to Tevaram and other Saivite works. Therefore one will be justified in claiming Nakkiirar as the earliest known Mystic of Tamil Land.

Very little is known about the author except that he was in the court of the great Pandiya King Netunceḷiya, the Victor of Talaiyālam Kānam. As hinted by the prefix Na (Great), he was one of the best poets of the Sangam. Apart from the Sangam poems, he is according to tradition, the author of a commentary on a treatise on Love Poetry in Tamil by Iṟaiyaṉār, identified with Siva Himself and in this he brings out the significance of Love. Perhaps this commentator is a different person.

Various anecdotes, however, have grown round his name. Once a Pandiya, it is said, suddenly when all alone with his queen experienced a waft of a new fragrance and he announced a rich prize for the poet solving his mental

puzzle. The then priest of the Madurai temple, a bachelor and a brahmin, always praying to God for money for his marriage, received a poem from the Lord, to be handed over to the Pandiya for winning the prize. The poem is, a rhetorical interrogation to a bee, by a lover, praising his lady-love : " Is there a sweeter fragrance of flowers than that of these tresses of hair ? "

The Pandiya was convinced that the sweet smell came from the queen's lock of hair. But Nakkīrar disputed this fact. Siva Himself had to come in the form of an old brahmin, but Nakkīrar intoxicated by his own power of debate, refused to yield even when the Lord hinted at His identity by opening the third eye of His. Nakkīrar was cursed and became a leper, but by singing the praises of Siva at Kalahasti he became whole. But this poem and others though attributed to a poet of the same name really belong to a later date. The identity of the name has led to this confusion.

There is another anecdote about the composition of the poem Tiru-Murukā<u>rr</u>uppaṭai. Nakkīrar entered once a magic area of an evil spirit or a wizard, who imprisoned one after another 99 people and waited for the 100th one for the final ritualistic slaughter of all. There was an enchanted tank into which if a leaf fell, the portion in the water became a fish. Nakkīrar, whilst performing his worship, saw this wonder and forgot his pūja. The wizard, as was usual with him, took this opportunity to bring Nakkīrar under his control and to imprison him with joy, born of the feeling of certainty that his ritual could be performed the very next day. The other 99 cursed Nakkīrar for his coming to seal their fate so soon. Nakkīrar thereupon composed this poem and Muruka released them all from the cave and the evil spirit.

In Tiru-Murukā<u>rr</u>uppaṭai, 'Tiru' like the Sanskrit word 'Sri' is a prefix, usually added to the name of any sacred thing, place or book. Āa<u>rr</u>uppaṭai is the name of a

variety of literary composition; it literally means "to send or guide one on the right path"; it may be translated as The Guide. This *art-motif* usually has its starting point, in the casual meeting of a starving and neglected artist made more miserable by the necessity of his supporting a beautiful artist of a wife and dependent followers, on the way in a desert, and under the scorching midday sun of summer by another artist, returning from his patron with all pomp and grandeur. This happy artist, out of pity and out of reverence for the greater art of the poorer one, narrates how he had been to the patron, how the kind and loving lord of great valour and power became a slave to art and gave a royal welcome to the artist, who was equally poor before and how the patron overwhelmed him with worthy praises and rich prizes, with precious mementoes of his love and regard, bringing about thereby a veritable metamorphosis, which is now seen and wondered by all. He then as a guide describes the way one has to pass through to the place of the lord, emphasising the variety of Nature and human life, each getting its particular shape and colour from the other, all finally harmonised by the ever watchful rule of the patron, into a living peace and growing culture which seem to shine in every heart and every place. The Geographic Motif—both physical and human—vivified by the patron's true love of real art, is predominant in this kind of Poetry. It starts thus with a contrast between the patronised art and the patronless art, between the poverty of the artist and the majesty of art, between wealth and poverty and ends in the disappearance of this contrast in the presence of the patron who thus restores harmony in the heart of the artist, even as he had everywhere else in his land, through which passed the artist, as though as on various rungs of the ladder of peace and communion.

Such poems as these were named after the particular artist concerned — The Bard, the Dancer, the Actor or the Poet. Such was the individuality of the art which no artist will willingly lose. Nakkīrar a poet himself but with a

mystic vision, revolts as it were, from this egoism of art, and dissolves all arts into a greater art of harmony, where all activities and vibrations go to form a real orchestra. Nakkīrar adopts and adapts this very art motif for expressing his vision. He guides us to *God* the Absolute. All are equal before Him and there is nothing to differentiate amongst us, as artists of life in the divine presence. This poem, therefore, cannot be named after any particular or general art. To differentiate his poem from others of its ilk, the poet calls it after its specific goal — God. This breaking away from the tradition, brings out clearly the universal point of view of our poet. God is named Muruku by the poet. This reminds us of the earliest known popular deity of Tamils, which a later generation has identified with Subrahmanya. Writing, as he does, in the Tamil country and in Tamil, this is but natural; but the implication of his description of God is indeed universal. The Ancient Dravidian God has been known as Murukan in the masculine gender. Our poet however, uses the abstract form of that word, *Muruku* — without the masculine suffix reminding us there of the *It.* — The Absolute. This word Muruku means honey, beauty, fragrance, divine music, the magnetic touch of youth and eternity, all combining to denote the divinity underneath all these pleasures. This name as signifying the eternal feast, to the eye of the colour and form, to the ear of the music of harmony, to the nose of the charming aroma, and to the body, of the magic touch, is appropriate enough, when the poet tries to turn, the attention of the worldly, hankering after pleasure, inward to the fundamental basis of all their varied goals — the Eternal Divine Bliss. The Bliss of Truth and Knowledge, arising from at-one-ment or submission to His will, as opposed to the ephemeral and illusory self delusions, in this world of ignorance, death and misery.

The poet, true to his art-motif, begins with a contrast— the contrast inherent in the experience of the world as a partial — the natural duality of the world — light and dark-

ness—eternal and blissful, innocent and loving beauty, and mortal and miserable, sinful and avenging ugliness. First he starts with natural forces passing on from there to the world of life. The rising sun on the blue sea, welcomed and praised by all, for instance after a pitch dark night when one has lost his way, in a dense forest on a steep mountain, is a symbol of the light of the Divine, however one may fret later on in his burning heat. Darkness is itself divine which supervenes when after the heat and summer, the winter clouds cover the very passage of the piercing sun and with a down-pour of fresh rain, and make the whole world cool after the heat, to smell sweet with new blooms, and there we move blindly, in that darkness with life pulsating within and without, finding our way only with our hands. Even the beautiful colour of the flowers, blooming with happiness in the showers, and drawing us to themselves through their sweet fragrance, become invisible like God, in that darkness, but remain there only to be felt and enjoyed with an inner light. Lo! we touch the sphere like flowers! Aye! they are the flowers of His Garland. Divinity is thus revealed in this darkness.

The world of life blossoms on this mountain as the bliss of the care-free divine virgins of innocence, full of youth and beauty, each adorning the other in a spirit of self sacrifice and self dedication to service unto others as their prayer and worship and all of them dancing in unison with their song, praising the Lord, in a beauty spot on the mountain crest. As a contrast, comes the solo dance of the demoness —a mass of bone and living matter with a plateau-like belly, with sunken and lifeless but ever whirling eyes, with owl-bedecked cavelike ears, with disordered teeth masticating the fatty flesh of the corpse, carrying a grinning skull from which she scoops out an eye to feast upon, she moves heavily along and dances frightfully on the battlefield of dead, to the clapping of her arms against her ribs, in the name of God. She dances in exultation over her

success in clearing the dead and putrifying matter, from the battle-field where topsy-turvy egoism or evil was hewed down by the good God, so that the soul thus transformed, may live for ever-after this so called metamorphosis, as the very bedrock of divinity — the so called peacock of the Lord. Even as the atmosphere cleanses dead matter and makes further growth possible in very death, the demoness symbolises in a way, this kind service to God. The inevitable ugliness is but the deceiving first appearance of the principle of scavenging and surgery in this world. But for her, how can one live amidst corpses ? Therefore, her praise of the Lord is sincere and divine.

In these descriptions themselves, the contradictions are resolved in the harmony of the Lord — an inevitable harmony of such contradictions, as to be welcomed and enjoyed — no more abhorred or feared.

The poet exclaims "If you are to reach this harmony of his feet, you have only to feel a love for it ". "If it is everywhere, what more should one do ". "Let your resistance cease." The poet assures us : "you achieve your purpose this very minute ! "

True to his art-motif, he takes the man hankering after peace and harmony, from the crowded and busy Madurai, his native place, the proud city of invincible ramparts of war and rich markets of trade, to the serene and calm, cool and holy height of the mountain nearby, rising amidst humble rural surroundings. Here he suggests in a beautiful way, the pilgrim's progress, in his description of a bee hankering after honey, getting imprisoned in a small flower in the slushy field in the evening, but getting released at dawn, to fly up to the Divine Spring at the mountain top.

The poet moves south to Tiruccentur on the Tinnevelly coast. There he points as a guide to the form of *Muruka* with six faces rushing forward on an elephant to help his followers. Here the poet sees in this, the *Visva Rupa,* the whole universe deified and appearing as a beautiful youth.

The meaningless mass of dead but powerful matter becomes in His presence a divine vehicle, full of adornment and joy, order and rhythm, bringing God Himself to us. God's face reminds us of the full moon and His ear-rings of the stars. His crown is a harmony of all the geometrical shapes. The various activities or phases of the world, and these are six —the physical phenomena—the social life—the conventions and rule, the war—the family — and the path of divine knowledge—are but his varied faces. He is like a diamond with six facets. He has naturally twelve hands — two hands for expressive instruments of activity corresponding to each face. The Lord hurries to the needful with the flare of trumpets of the hollow bamboo of the mountains and the conches of the sky and with the resounding drum of the thunder.

From the South, the poet turns northwards and westwards to the Āi country of the Palani Hills. Milton brings all the gods and goddesses of other faiths inside his pandemonium as allies of Satan. Nakkiirar, however, brings the divine beings of his puranas to the Palani Hills, to the God as their *eternal child* for the release of the Creative Principle, till now imprisoned because of its self-adoring and self-conceited arrogance, intoxicated by the rhythm of its song but ignorant of its meaning, neglecting the innocence and beauty of the child where hovers divinity and where alone is unselfish and unbiased enjoyment of creative activity. They all go in a procession headed by the emaciated saints, and the loving couples of charming harp, their bodies and minds mellowed by music, along with the incarnations of the Principles of Destruction, powerful Protection and ambitious but Divine Rulership in the middle of the whole array of divine life, all these shining like stars, moving like the rushing wind, powerful like the fire with a tone and emphasis like ominous thunder. This procession so full of colour, light and shade, so full of life and energy, so full of pomp and power, viewed from a proper perspective is worthy of a divine painter, though

true to mystic poetry, brings to sharp focus the grandeur and glory of the puranas as seen and realised by our poet.

The poet moves westwards to the western ghats to Ērakam where he sees the Brahmins remaining celibate upto their 48th year, going to the temple in their pure wet cloth, straight from their holy bath, to their worship, praying there to God with their hands clasped up above their heads, muttering Mantras of His name and carrying sweet scented flowers to Him.

From there almost near the western sea — the Arabian Sea — our poet takes us according to his principle of universalism — round the world seeing the vision of God on every mountain top of the whole world — every mountain rising as a veritable temple before his holy eyes. There everywhere arises the vision of the mountain lasses dancing to their drum and music, in a circle with the Lord taking as many forms as there are these girls and with each form standing in between every two of them, appearing thus everywhere they see, to their right and to their left, clasping every one of their hands and dancing with them all in that enchanted circle. This represents the dance of the souls beloved of the Lord each in the embrace of the lover, reminding us of the '*rasa lila*' of Gopis and Krishna.

The poet returns back after this vision seen all round the world to Palamutir Colai — believed to be the modern Alagar Hills of Madurai. Everywhere to the poet, man appears as feeling for the sublime, as overcome by a reverence for something beyond his knowledge and power, for which there is something in him yearning, and where his ego is lost in the overwhelming flood of love and light, power and glory, bliss and beauty. Therefore, there is true worship everywhere whether in the dark forest or the colourful garden, in the flooding rivers or the stored up tanks, in the lovely islands in the river, in the crowded junction of roads or in the common meeting places in the open, in the trees or the posts.

Various kinds of worship — the Brahmin worship, the puranic worship, the worship of the Visvarupa, the worship of mystic love and dance, the worship of the aspiring pilgrim — the worship in the sublime and beautiful spots of Nature, in places where men congregate, worship of any symbol, living or material,—have been hinted. In all these places one may not miss the real spirit ; but worship takes many forms, sometimes the form of a blood-curdling devil dance of a mountain girl, revelling in the slaughter of a bull and its hot streaming blood, besmearing things in that blood, adorning the whole place with garlands of blood-like flowers, and with rising and whirling incense, burning red-like blood and beating the terrific gong ; yet even there, there is the loss of the Ego ; conciousness — sleeps like feigning death—wakes up then and there into the eternal presence of the Lord as though " on the lap of the mother " with no more care or thought of this body or the world, all drowned with the soul in the surging waves of the infinite ocean of love. This worship from an unexpected quarter — perhaps primitive and barbaric to modern eyes — is one with the holiest of the holiest, in its slaughter of the ego and in its dance thereon. It is the inner feeling and not the social aspect that is emphasised, for, here society and world are non-existent, in this trance of the mountain lass. The contrast between the outer horror and the inner calm is so much as to bring forth in this vision the poetic message of the mystic, of harmony of all worships. Mystics seem to take pleasure in such out of the way — cruel — horrid and obscene things so as to make these the vehicles of their inexpressible message — a kind of a secret code, as it were ; to be understood only by those who will not run away from this language. The mountain lass — a simpleton — brings back unto us God Himself ; she is a Guide unto the Lord when she loses her ego in Him — on his eternal search for the loving souls — not a mere guide to the pilgrim in his progress. This is her *Murukārruppatai* — guiding God to us—a beautiful phrase which because of this depth, taking us to the climax of the poem, has become the very name

of the poem. This interpretation is in keeping with the poetic spirit, though the interpretation given at the beginning of this essay may also be working in the mind of the poet.

Thus God is present everywhere. "Whenever and wherever this realisation occurs, bow down in humility" advises the poet "losing your ego and praise him as well as you can". Here comes a harmony of the puranas and folklore whose gods and goddesses are Father and the Mother of this supreme ideal. The poet continues "The God of all forms — the Warrior, the Learned, the Wise, the Big, the Absolute, the Inner Moving Principle, The Great and the Lover, reveals himself to you the artist as Eternal Beauty and Love, Light and Youth and not in other Terrific Forms. He knows you had come. He showers his blessings then and there and makes you the Absolute, the One in the whole universe".

The poem closes with a description of the cataract rushing down from the top of the Alagar Hills — suggesting the onrush of divine Grace—something like the seemingly màd pursuit of the hound of heavens — in whose presence the souls, not well attuned to it, as beasts and birds, scream and flee away, even when It brings the very riches and feasts they hanker after. But the cataract ever keeps on rushing at them.

This is the poetic vision of the mystic saint, explaining the contradictions of the world and this life by taking them to their very source, where these are resolved into the eternal and rich harmony, where all puranas, all legends, all gods and goddesses, all kinds of worship, and all activities become one symphony, where, if only we pine for it — our shrieks and laughters of life cease to be jarring notes but become the very melody of the song divine, from which wells forth — a flood of bliss, submerging us all, the seeming arc revealing itself in reality as an infinite circle of ever rushing cataract.

Early Tamil Cultural Influences in South East Asia

S. J. GUNASEGARAM.

References made in the early Sangam Literature of the Tamils, foreign notices found in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, and Tamil loan words found in Hebrew and Greek along with other evidences brought to light by excavations in Ur of the Chaldees and Palestine, give us some idea of the early trade and cultural contacts of the Dravidians, (and in particular of the Tamils) with ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, Rome and Arabia.

The extent of this trade and a critical estimate of these contacts require a separate lecture. As a result of the more recent excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, Chitaldrug in Mysore and at Adichanallur further south, the probability that civilization spread from India to Egypt and Babylonia, and not, as it was believed earlier, from the Valley of the Nile or the Euphrates to India, has been strengthened.

K. M. Panikkar in his, "A Survey of Indian History (1954)," says :—"One thing, however, is certain and can no longer be contested — civilization did not come to India with the Aryans. This doctrine of the Aryan origin of Indian civilization which finds no support in Indian Literature (which does not consider the Dasyus (Dravidians) as uncivilized), is the result of the theories of Indo-Germanic scholars who held that everything valuable in the world originated from the Aryans. Not only is Indian Civiliza-

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This article represents the substance of a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Tamil Cultural Society, Colombo.

tion pre-Vedic, but the essential features of Hindu religion as we know it today were perhaps present in Mohenjo-Daro."

"There is enough in the fragments we have recovered," says Sir John Marshall, "about the religious articles found on the sites to demonstrate that this religion of the Indus people was the lineal progenitor of Hinduism. In fact, *Siva and Kali, the worship of the Linga and other features of popular Hinduism, were well established in India long before the Aryans came.*"

This civilization and culture were not destroyed by the Aryans, and the Indus Valley religious ideas which centred round *the worship of Siva* (*the oldest monotheistic religion known to the world*) who combines in himself the male as well as the female principle in creation, continue to be cherished in Dravidian India, and particularly in the Tamil countries, to this day.

"The clearest evidence of the Dravidian origin of Siva worship," says Panikkar, "is found in the Aryan attitude towards Linga and the God whom it symbolises. In Rig Veda (vii) Ch. 21-5 we have the significant statement :—

> "Let those whose deity is the Phallus not penetrate our Sanctuary" ....Siva assumes increased importance only in the later Vedas, and from the period of the Yajur Veda, Siva definitely assumes the aspect of Maheswara— or the Great God."

Hall in his, "Ancient History of the Near East," wrote long ago, "*The Culture of India is pre-Aryan in origin. As in Greece, the conquered countries civilized the conquerors. The Aryan Indian owed his civilization and his degeneration to the Dravidians as the Aryan Greek to the Mycaeneans.*"

Hall also believes that "the Sumerians derived their culture from India......" Investigators have been struck

by the fact that similar seals found both in Babylonia and in India belong to the *earliest* phase of the Mesopotamian culture, but to the *latest* phase of the Indus civilization, which suggests the priority of Dravidian India. (Will Durant, *Our Oriental Heritage* p. 395n). Childe, another historian, confirms this when he states, " the Indus civilization was ahead of the Babylonian at the beginning of the third millennium B.C. This, it should be noted, is a later phase of the Indian."

Will Durant, a living American historian, speaking of the Dravidians in his book, *Our Oriental Heritage*, says :—

> "They were already a civilized people when the Aryan broke down upon them ; their adventurous merchants sailed the sea even to Sumeria and Babylon and their cities knew many refinements and luxuries. It was from them, apparently, that the Aryans took their village community and their system of land-tenure and taxation. To this day the Deccan is still essentially Dravidian in stock and customs, in language, literature and arts."

Who were these adventurous merchant seamen who sailed the seas ? Their descendants are present today in this very hall to listen — not to their glorious ventures across the Arabian and Mediterranean seas — but to their building of Greater India and their spread of Indian Culture in the regions now known as South-East Asia.

The Dravidians who were identified with (Dramilas) (Tamils) were also known as Thirayar — the men who rode the waves, the race which in the very dawn of history carried its trade and culture across the waves to the West and to the East — the harbingers of civilization.

They were able to declare through the lips of their incomparable poets,

யாதுமூரே யாவரும் கேளிர்.

The one world idea, new to the modern world, was already old to the Tamils of the Sangam age — ocean rovers, dauntless Thirayars who sang—

திரை கடலோடியுந் திரவியந்தேடு.

In an old Tamil poem of the Medieval period the writer mentions 17 countries where the Tamil Language, and consequently the Tamil culture, were known. I quote the words of the verse :—

சிங்களஞ் சோனகஞ் சாவகஞ் சீனந்துளுக்குடகங்
கொங்கணங் கன்னடங் கொல்லந் தெலுங்கம் வங்கங்
கங்கமதங் கடாரங் கவடங் கடுங்குசலங்
தங்கும் புகழ் தமிழ் சூழ் பதினேழ் புவி தாமிவையே.

Among the seventeen countries referred to are : Ceylon, Java, Malaya, Cambodia and China. The word சோனகம் should be taken to include Arabia and neighbouring countries.

Some South Indian Brahmins with an Aryan complex, in their histories of the Tamil language and of South India, have attributed such references to ignorance on the part of early Tamil writers. Since the appearance of such works, thanks to the energy of European scholars, much research has been done which has revealed unmistakably traces of the Tamil language and culture in these and other lands across the seas.

Similarly, Chinese historical sources which refer to the maritime traders bringing typical Indian products to China as far back as 7th Century B.C., 'were generally regarded with incredulity.' These accounts have received striking confirmation by the discovery in the Philippines of a number of iron age finds bearing close resemblance to objects found in South India of about the same period—the first millennium B.C.[1]

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[1] According to Paul Pelliot there is evidence in Chinese literature of diplomatic relations between South Indian Courts and the Chinese Empire as early as the 2nd Century B.C. A Chinese writer, Pau Kou, who

"Professor Beyer conducted a remarkable series of excavations during the years 1926 to 1930, and the evidence has been summed up by R. B. Dixon who did a first-hand examination of the objects brought to light by Prof. Beyer. Among the finds were a large variety of iron weapons and implements and glass beads and bangles made in the Tamil country." (K.A.N.). I shall quote what Dixon has to say of these :

> "Now both the iron and glass objects are similar to, and in some cases identical with, the prehistoric glass and iron finds in the South of India. They occur in the dolmen tombs and urns which are found by hundreds and thousands, and which almost antedate the historic Chola, Chera, Pandyan kingdoms whose history goes back to the beginning of the Christian era or before. As finds of similar glass beads and bangles have recently been excavated in the Malay Peninsula, in dolmen tombs in Java and in North Borneo, the inference is inescapable that we have clear evidence of trade contact with the Northern Philippines and Southern India, running well back into the first millennium B.C.
>
> "The extensive trade and colonization and later conquests of South Indian kingdoms in Sumatra and Java as well as in Indo-China in the early centuries of the Christian era, of course, are well known. This new material, however, seems to make it clear that this was far from being the beginning of such contacts, but rather the last stages in an association reaching as far as the Northern Philippines which had begun many centuries before."

At Adichanallur, an ancient site on the banks of the Tambraparani in the Tinnevely district, extensive prehistoric urn burials and iron implements related to those found in the Philippines and Palestine have been unearthed. A

lived at the end of the 1st Century, mentions that in the time of the Hun Emperor the Chola Kings sent embassies to China.—K. M. Panikkar, *India and China*, pp. 17, 18.

remarkable find was the three-pronged fork or trident of iron. Many such tridents were discovered at Adichanallur. This evidence suggests that the worship of Murugan or Velan, the son of Siva (known as the God of Kataragama in Ceylon), was popular in the Tamil country even in those remote times. This Muruga worship would appear to have been carried by the Tamils to Palestine and Syria in the West, to Ceylon in the South, and to the distant Phillippines across the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

In 1200 B.C. at Adichanallur, the Tamils were found to have cultivated rice, and it was in this region that the iron industry had its origin. There is every evidence to prove that the Tamils were the earliest people to introduce the cultivation of rice and the use of iron implements to the countries in the West as well as in South-East Asia.

In support of this contention I would quote two distinguished authorities—

Piggot in his *Prehistoric India,* page 43 (Pelican Books, 1952), says with regard to rice : " It seems probable that rice cultivation began earlier in India than it did in China and that the knowledge reached the latter country about 2000 B.C." He adds in page 259, " The Rig Veda knows nothing of rice." In other words, the Aryan immigrants into India learnt the cultivation of rice from the Dravidians. In the light of these facts, it is amusing to find that our local historians have been at pains to show that rice cultivation was introduced into Ceylon by the Aryans. This, of course, is the least of the glaring historical inaccuracies in some of our so-called histories of Ceylon.

With regard to the centre of origin or iron, I give an extract from the Bulletin of the British Iron and Steel Federation—1949. Sir William Larke, Director of the British Iron and Steel Federation, says—

"The centre of origin is variously placed in India, where there are historical traditions and remains indi-

> cating a highly developed iron culture. Hyderabad and Trichinopoly are considered by many to have been the centres of production of wootz. ....This steel was noted for centuries, being carried by merchants from India to Damascus and Toledo."

It will be noted that both these sites are in South India (Deccan). Sir William gives the date of this origin of the iron age as 1400 to 1500 B.C. The iron implements found in the Adichanallur site about the same period, and the transport of iron hoes and tridents to distant countries such as Palestine and the Philippines confirms this conclusion.

For the purpose of studying the influence of Indian Art and Culture in the countries of South-East Asia, Quaritch Wales in his recent work, *The Making of Great India*, divides South-East Asian countries into two zones —the Western Zone and the Eastern Zone. Under the Western Zone he includes Ceylon, Burma, Central Siam, Malaya and Sumatra; while he includes Java, Champa (Siam) and Cambodia in the Eastern Zone.

The author (Quaritch Wales) points out that Indian scholars—most of them North Indians and a few Aryanised Brahmins of South India—seem often to have tended to over-emphasise the overseas influence of their own part of the country—the implication being that they have exaggerated the role played by North Indian and Aryan culture in South-East Asia. He, however, accepts unhesitatingly the conclusion arrived at by M. Coedes, another great authority on South-East Asian Culture, that—

> "All the regions of India contributed more or less to this expansion, and it is South India that had the greatest part, for the Southern half of the Greater India ..consisting of Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Malaya and Bali—was naturally most exposed to South Indian influence."

More recently, M. Stern has shown that even in Champa (Siam) and Cambodia which are included in the Eastern

Zones by Quaritch Wales, Pallava (Tamil) influences have played a significant part from very early times in the evolution of their culture.

The Indianisation of these countries in the Western as well as in the Eastern Zone would appear to have proceeded in successive waves of cultural expansion.

> The first wave which may be termed the Amaravati period (2nd and 3rd centuries) represents the Art of *Andhra* which is Dravidian and South Indian.
>
> The second wave—which may be termed the *Gupta* period—represents North Indian Art modified by Greek influences. The Guptas were Hindus but they did not persecute Buddhism.
>
> The third—*Pallava* Art—was mainly Dravidian and Tamil Hindu Art. It must be remembered that the Pallavas (Tondayar or Tondaman) were at the same time promoters of Sanskrit learning in the Tamil country.
>
> The fourth—*Pala* period—lasted from the 8th to the 10th centuries. This Art had its origin in Bengal and was mainly Buddhist.
>
> The fifth—*Chola* Art—lasted from the 10 to the 12th centuries. It was again South Indian and Tamil. This wave was purely Hindu. "Their great achievement," says Panikkar, "was in plastic art known as Chola bronzes." The Nataraja figures and images and portraits of the Tamil Saints found in Polonnaruwa and in South India have been recognised as coming among the masterpieces of the world (Reginald Le May).

All five waves of Indian cultural expansion affected the countries in the Western as well as the Eastern Zones of South East Asia. In the Western Zone which includes Ceylon, Burma, Central Siam, Malaya and Sumatra, Quaritch Wales states *that Indianisation was so intense that no indigenous art or culture ever developed, and that the bulk of the upper classes were mainly Indian Colonists. There was no evolution of any art or culture for lack of*

local genius to act as a shaper of evolution. "The archaeological remains represent simply the reflection of one or other waves of Indian cultural expansion. They may be justly called, colonial or Indianesque."

In the light of these facts we in South Ceylon have very little reason or right to speak of an indigenous culture. From very early times the culture of Ceylon has been one imposed on its people by successive waves of Indian cultural contacts. In more recent centuries the people of South Ceylon came under Portuguese, Dutch and British cultural influences and they absorbed them with equal avidity, though apparently devotees of "Buddhist Culture."

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It will be remembered that the earlier cultural influences brought to bear on Ceylon were Pandyan and Cholian, though no archaeological remains of any consequence are available. The truth of this contention, however, is admitted by the author of the Mahavamsa who says that Vijaya and his 500 followers got their wives from the Pandyan country, and that these 'brides were followed by craftsmen and a thousand families of eighteen guilds.' He adds that all this multitude of men disembarked at Mahathitha (*i.e.*, Mantota near Mannar, a city sacred to the Hindus.)

Could any reasonable person believe that the Tamil men and women described as a 'multitude' — the women of the court, the craftsmen and the members of the thousand families of eighteen guilds, spoke to one another and taught their children in an Aryan tongue, which the modern Sinhalese assumes Vijaya and his 500 followers spoke, or that they developed a culture and followed a religion alien to their ancestral heritage? Who could doubt that the culture of these people was Dravidian, their language Tamil, and their religion Hinduism pure and simple?

The Mahavamsa itself associates Vijaya with the Kalingas — a Dravidian people — whose ruling family

seems to have had marriage alliances with the Pandyan Tamils. The Mahavamsa records further that when Vijaya died childless he was succeeded by Panduvasudeva, a Pandyan in name, whose mother was the daughter of the King of Madda (now Madurai) (vide *Mahavamsa* Geiger's translation, Chapter VII). Tamil and Tamil culture are not likely to have been something strange either to Vijaya or to his successor Panduvasudeva. We cannot escape the assumption that the early rulers of Ceylon were drawn either from the descendants of Panduvasudeva or imported from South India, when no heir was available in Ceylon. These rulers were in fact not Sinhalese but strictly speaking 'the kings of the Sinhalese.' In course of time the term 'Sinhalese' appears to have been used to designate the indigenous people of the country, and not the rulers or their kith and kin and their followers.

Emerson Tennent in his *Ceylon*, Vol. I, pp. 370-1, has noted this when he points out that—

> "The *Mahavamsa* and the *Rajaratnacari* in order to vindicate the inferiority of the natives to their masters, speak of their labours as that of 'men and snakes,' 'men and demons'." Because they were so numerous in number, they were given seats of equal eminence with the king on festive occasions. "The feeling was encouraged and matured into a conviction which prevailed to the latest period of Sinhalese Sovereignty, that no individual of pure Sinhalese extraction could be elevated to the supreme power, since no one could prostrate himself before one of his own nation."

*   *   *   *   *

BURMA

From very early times Hinduism and Buddhism appear to have flourished side by side in Burma. From the archaeological excavations made at Prom, the chief city of old Burma, Harvey says that the finds were mainly Hindu rather than Buddhist. In later times, though Burma

became predominantly Buddhistic, Hindus lived with a Buddhist population and worshipped in their own temples. This early entry of Saivaism was probably an event in the great Tamil trade movement which started in the 2nd millennium B.C., and swept across the seas to the Southern Islands and Malaya as far north as the Philippines.

The earliest colonists to exercise authority over Burma appear to have been again South Indians. The city of Prom was also known as Vanadesi, the name of the capital of the Kadambas in South India. The earliest inscriptions discovered at Prom is in the South Indian Kadamba script of the 5th C. A.D. In the 5th and 6th centuries, however, Burma became the centre of Southern Buddhism. A number of terracotta plaques carrying the effigy of Buddha were found inscribed in South Indian characters. The contact of South Indian merchants with Burma in the early centuries of the Christian era is attested to by Ptolemy who had noticed that large ships used to sail from the East coast of South India to Burma.

The rise of Hinayana Buddhism in the 5th C. A.D., was mainly due to inspiration received by Burma from the great movement which started at Kanchi (Kanchipuram) in the Tamil country. Kanchi it will be remembered is referred to in Manimekalai, the great Tamil Buddhist epic. It was the home of that illustrious Tamil Buddhist Scholar Dharmapala, 6th C. A.D., who was the Head of the Nalanda University. He should not, however, be confused with the other Dharmapala, a Tamil himself and a Buddhist scholar, who came to Ceylon and wrote the famous commentaries.

In the excavations made in 1926-1927, a relic chamber of a stupa containing many finds of great interest were found. The chamber was found closed by a stone slab bearing a representation of a stupa having a cylindrical dome with a rounded top and five umbrellas above, indicating that these had a South Indian origin. Though most

Burmese became Buddhists, the worship of Siva and Vishnu continued to be popular, the majority of the Hindus being South Indian settlers and colonizers from India.

Most of the old kings of Burma, it will be noted, have the Varman ending and *the scripts used in almost all the inscriptions found in the country are South Indian in character*. The Pallavas of South India — Tondayar or Tondamans — have contributed the greatest share towards the culture and greatness of ancient Burma. Of the magnificent Buddhist temple of Ananda, Quaritch Wales says — "Here we have a South Indian temple crowned with a North Indian Sikara."

Scott, an authority on Burmese Archaeology and History — in his account of the reign of Alaungsithu (1112-1187), observes : —

> "The connection with India was still maintained and the form of the many Pagan temples suggests architects from the Deccan...Many of the images and their attitudes are quite South Indian."

> "The presence of a considerable number of South Indian Tamils through the centuries is attested by the well-known Grantha—Tamil inscription of Pagan attesting the existence of a Vishnu temple built there by Vanadesi Merchants and a gift to the temple made in the 13th C. by a merchant from one of the port towns on the Malabar Coast."—(*Epigraphia Indica*)

THE MALAY PENINSULA

It has been found that in the Malay Peninsula early South Indian colonists had founded a number of independent states. There are no records except Chinese notices to form an exact idea of the nature and origin of these states. By the end of the 13th century the entire region came under the power of the Sailendras and later fell an easy prey to the Siamese.

Malacca was an early Indian Hindu colony as proved by the Makara fragment built into the retaining wall near an ancient Portuguese Church. The Portuguese generally had no regard for antiquities or relics except for those of their own faith. The find, however, is an indication that the Pallavas of South India had exercised authority in Malaya in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Perak, another district, has been identified as an ancient Hindu colony. 'A seal with an inscription in a South Indian script of the 5th C., or earlier was found.'

Kedah was an unmistakable Hindu settlement. Dr. Quaritch Wales investigated no fewer than 30 sites round about Kedah. The results show that this site was in continuous occupation by South Indians — Hindus and Buddhists — mainly Tamils. On a low spar of the Kedah peak to the south have been discovered traces of a Siva Temple. A large Siva Temple also had been identified as such by a four-armed Ganesh figure and a bronze weapon of Muruga. This temple is assigned to the 11th C. M. Coedes believes that Kedah is the same as Kadaram of Tamil (*Chola*).

Takua-pa

Lajonquiere's investigations at Takua-pa, which is a town situated north of the Perak district, brought to light a number of old sculptures and monuments which go to prove that Takua-pa was a well-known harbour and an early trading centre resorted to by South Indian and particularly Tamil traders. This has been supported by a Tamil inscription discovered in 1902 by Mr. Bourke, a mining engineer of the Siamese Government. Further in the interior on a hill in a dilapidated condition were found the figure of Siva and Parvati and a danseuse. Describing the finds, Lajonquiere observes :—

> "The costumes in numerous folds treated with details, the profusion of jewels, the elegant movements of the body, recall very nearly the oldest sculptures of Dravidian India."

Near this sculpture is a slab which carries a Tamil inscription. It records the construction of a tank by one who describes himself as the Lord of Nangur. The tank is placed under the protection of the members of the Manigramam, under the residents of the Cantonment described as Senamukham and one other group of which the nature is obscured by a gap in the inscription.

No one, however, knows who maintained a Senamukham at Takua-pa, and for what purpose. Was the Lord of Nangur a Tamil military Chieftain or just a Merchant Prince? The term Manigramam implies the large and influential guild of Tamil merchants of whom we read in diverse connections. These historical associations would have been lost to us but for the scientific zeal of Western explorers. (K.A.N. Sastri).

Pierre Dupont has pointed out that Pro No' Visnu of Takua-pa is a pure Pallava product of the 7th C. A.D., while the seventh century Siva temple remains excavated in Kedah by Quaritch Wales have been ascribed by him to South Indian Colonists, most of whom were from the Tamil country.

Among the statues found belonging to different periods and styles was the admirable bust of Lokeswara (Siva) discovered by Prince Dumrong and now in the Bangkok Museum. M. Coedes says of this statue :—

> "The benevolent serenity of the face, the noble bearing of the shoulder and the magnificence of dress and adornment class this statue, badly mutilated, among the masterpieces of Indian sculpture."

At Ligor on the eastern coast of the peninsula was found a Tamil inscription dated in a Saka year in words. The word for the hundred figure is lost. "The record mentions some charity in favour of Brahmins instituted according to the orders of a Dharmasenapathi."

MALAYA AND ISLAM

The Malay Peninsula continues to be in debt to South India and Ceylon to this day to thousands of Tamil and Tamil-speaking Muslim merchants, Tamil educationists, doctors, engineers and labourers. The Malayans themselves would appear to have appreciated the value of this contact by recognising Tamil as a language to be taught at the Malayan University. The results on the cultural side of these contacts have struck all observers.

"There are many similarities," says Annandale, "between the Muhamadanism of the Labbies of the Indian shore of the Gulf of Mannar and that of the Malays. I think it would not be impossible to find striking parallels between objects in daily use, and especially in the pattern, with which these objects are adorned among the two races." It has been established that an old type of South Indian water vessel known in Tamil as kendi, the kendi with a spout, is in use by the Malays and called by the Tamil name. Again, "The importance of Rama and Hanuman in the folklore of the Malays, Buddhists and Muhamadans alike agree with legends which link these with the region round Adam's Bridge region, whence came the bulk of the Tamils resident in Malaya." *Annandale goes on to add, "I would even hazard the suggestion that it is largely owing to the commercial activities of the Labbies and their ancestors that the Malays of the mainland were first converted from Shamanism to Hinduism and then from Hinduism to what they call, in phraseology of curiously mingled derivation, the Agama Islam.*

Several common Malay words like those for washerman, kind or sort, marriage pledge, leaf, couple, and so on, have been traced indubitably to Tamil origins and these are some of the results of an unbroken contact throughout the centuries that follow the early period of colonisation. (K. A. N. Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*)

JAVA

By about A.D. 400, Indian culture and Hinduism had obtained firm footing in Java. Though the extant inscriptions in West Java are of a later date than those of Borneo: "There can be no doubt," says Nilakanta Sastri, "that Hindu culture must have reached Java, if anything a little earlier, from South India, than it reached Borneo." The inscriptions of West Java are engraved in the distinctly South Indian type of characters, and these are actually half a century later than the inscriptions of Mulavarman found in Borneo. The West Javan inscriptions refer to the 'Illustrious Purnavarman' who once ruled at Taruma in Java. The inscriptions are identical with the Grantha alphabet used by the Pallavas of South India (300 to 800 A.D.).

Another inscription found at Changal (732 A.D.) describes the consecration of a linga by King Sangaya of Central Java, whose ancestors came from Kunjara-kunjadesa in South India. Another at Dinaya of the year A.D. 760, describes the erection of an image of Agastya. *In all these the era used is Saka era, an essentially South Indian reckoning. The Northern Vikrama era is unknown.*

On the Dieng Plateaux, 6,500 feet above sea level, there are five groups of temples of an earlier period, all dedicated to Siva. The style of architecture is Dravidian and South Indian. Kroom points out that the Dieng Art shows 'most agreement with, or properly least difference from, South Indian Art, specifically from the square plan, symmetry, roof stages and stresses on horizontal lines.'

Though Siva worship had been introduced by Tamil merchants and colonists in pre-Christian centuries, the later Pallava-Tamil influences are strongly indicated by the presence of Kala Makara over doorways, 'for the Kala-Makara combined motif was a Pallava innovation in Indian Art.'

The Sailendras, who ruled over Java and Sumatra and whose origins have not been finally decided upon by scholars, were Mahayanist Buddhists, and in all probability a dynasty that had its origin in South India. Throughout their imperial authority they had been in contact with South India and South Indian Buddhists till they were overpowered later by the Chola Empire.

Here is what K. M. Panikkar says in his 'India and China' p. 20 :—

> "Its relations with India were of the most intimate kind. We know, for example, that Sri Vijaya Kings endowed institutions in Nalanda and had monasteries erected at their expense in Nagapatam...The Sailendra monarchs of Sri Vijaya enjoyed great prestige in India, and their envoys frequently visited Indian Courts."

It is interesting to note that while in Java there has been a fusion between Saivaism and Mahayanist Buddhism, Bali has always remained Hindu. That South Indian culture is bound up with the Art of Java is clearly evidenced in the dance forms and worship of the Balinese. The Saiva form of Hinduism ante-dated Buddhism in Java, while Bali still remains Hindu ; and Saivaism was in all probability introduced by Tamil merchants and colonists in pre-Christian times. The majestic Sivan Temple in Perambanam in Java is thought by many competent judges to contain the finest sculptured panels to be found in Java. Kroom considers the Perambanam to represent 'the apotheosis of Saivaism as Borobodor does of Buddhism.'

"In the organisation of rural economy and village communities, the institution and ideas appear unmistakably to have been brought from South India. Institutions of Village Government are either unknown or quite different in their nature in non-Hindu parts. The proceedings in village meetings in Java even today strongly remind one of the conditions of village administration in South India

in ancient days as it is vividly portrayed in the numberless inscriptions of the Chola monarchs." (K. A. N. Sastri).

Java has had continuous contacts with South India in later times. The Chola Empire in the 10th and the 11th centuries had close association with Java, and Javanese culture was further influenced by Tamil culture after the Cholas defeated the Sailendras of Java. Bhikkhus from Kanchipuram praise the Javanese ruler Hayam Wuruk in the 14th C. ; Jayanagara adopted the characteristic Pandyan title Sundarapandya at the coronation in the 14th century, and adopted the Pandyan Emblem of the two fishes for his seal.

SUMATRA

The rulers of Sumatra, according to Chinese historical records, were in communication with China during the period 450-562 A.D. The names of these rulers, judged from the Chinese transcriptions, are typical Hindu names, and the manners and customs similar to the South Indian customs of Champa and Kumbuja (Siam and Cambodia).

In Sumatra are found certain names of tribal subdivisions which are unmistakably South Indian, and specifically Tamilian names such as Choliya, Pandiya, Maehliyala, and also Pallava as well as Tekam (or Tekkanam or Deccan). "The social organisation of some of these tribes seems to date from a very remote past and it is quite probable that these names were taken over when they were still powerful realities in South India," says Nilakanta Sastri.

No temples in Sumatra belonging to this ancient period have survived as they had probably been built of wood following the South Indian practice in pre-Christian times. This contact with Sumatra was kept up by South India for well over a thousand years. In the 11th century A.D. the Cholas invaded Sumatra which was at that time under the

Sailendras. Tamil inscriptions of this period have been found at Luba Tua dating from the year 1088. Tamil tribal names are still found among the Batak of Sumatra.

Thus Sumatra had not only been colonised by the Tamils but it also became an integral part of the Greater Indian Cultural Area.

Celebes

In Celebes, a large island further east of Borneo and Java and south of the Philippines, traces of South Indian influences have been found. The Buddha images there show affinities with the earliest form of the Amaravati Art (Second century A.D.). Archaeologists have not been able to decide how far this culture had penetrated into the interior of the island. Recently, however, an ancient bell and a pair of cymbals have been discovered. The bell and cymbals are very similar to those still in daily use in South India in domestic worship and otherwise. The probability is that South Indian cultural influence had preceded the arrival of South Indian Buddhism.

The Pallava-Tamil period was the age of South Indian colonisation par excellence, and unmistakable marks of evidence of Pallava rule are found scattered all over South East Asian countries including Celebes. " But," says Sastri, " palaeography and art styles are the two unmistakable marks of the antiquity of objects belonging to really early times and attesting direct contact of these lands, and the tests, as we have seen, point to a time much earlier than that of the rise of the Pallavas."

Borneo

The earliest archaeological evidence in Borneo is a Sanskrit inscription, fully and decidedly South Indian, referring to the conquest of Mulavarman, a Pallava king. There is also evidence of the Agastya cult in Borneo already noticed in Java, a cult which is essentially South Indian.

The Ganesha image found in Sarawak, North Borneo, a linga and yoni found in West Borneo and a Pallava inscription in the East coast of Borneo, prove unmistakably the early colonisation of Borneo by the South Indians, and particularly by the Tamils.

Philippines

I have already referred to the iron age finds in the Philippines bearing close resemblance to objects found in South India about the same period, more than a thousand years before Christ, and also to other evidences of trade contact with Malaya, Indo-China, North Borneo and Philippines in those remote times. The Spanish who dominated the Philippines in recent centuries are not likely to have preserved religious and cultural antiquities of other Faiths. In 1820, however, a copper image of Siva was discovered in one of those islands which points to a remote period in which the worship of Siva had been introduced by South Indian merchants.

That these facts are by no means unsupported by other evidence may be shown by the remarks made by Mr. Phiroz Kutar, Technical Director, which were reported in the Madras 'Hindu' (October, 1954).

> "Researches into the cultural and racial origins of the people of Ceylon and of countries lying eastward have shown that they were once colonised from South India and in particular, the Fillipino script has striking similarities with that of Tamilark. These researches have also shown that Fillipino dialects belonged to the Dravidian family."

Cambodia

I have so far not been able to touch on Tamil cultural influences in Central Siam, Champa and Cambodia. This aspect of the subject would require a separate lecture. I would crave your indulgence to refer to a state ceremony

in Cambodia[1] where Saiva Tamil hymns are sung even today, to indicate the extent of Tamil cultural influence in these regions.

Cambodia had come under Saiva Tamil influence, not to speak of Southern Buddhism, from very early days. Though Buddhism continues to be its State religion, the old Saiva ceremonies conducted by the Tamil Brahmin priests are still found incorporated in its Coronation ceremonies. The Saiva Brahmins of Cambodia would appear to have come originally from Rameswaram in South India. Many of these, with the ascendancy of Buddhism and the adoption of the Siamese themselves as Brahmins, seem to have taken along with them, elsewhere, valuable documents which would otherwise have revealed more fully the nature of South Indian Tamil influence in the religious ceremonies and court life of the Siamese in Cambodia.

Quaritch Wales, in describing the swinging festival on the occasion of the crowning of Cambodian Kings, says :— " The King seated himself on a throne beneath an umbrella of seven tiers which, after the King was crowned, was replaced by one of nine tiers emblematic of full sovereignty. The high priest of Siva then came to him, and after rendering homage, pronounced the Tamil mantra, the name of which means ' Opening of the Portals of Kailasa '. " Wales adds that the Siamese priests now know neither Sanskrit nor Tamil, but that in an earlier period there were Brahmins who did understand these Indian languages. The texts which the Siamese priests still possess are Sanskrit and Tamil hymns with instructions in Siamese for the preliminary rites intended to be used in daily worship.

The Rev. Fr. Thani Nayagam, a member of the Tamil Cultural Society and the Editor of 'Tamil Culture,' visited

[1] "The Cambodian kings bore the title of Varman, which reminds one of the Pallava kings of South India. The magnificent temples of Angkor-Vat and of Bayon are similar to those of Southern India. Taking all these facts together, as well as the introduction of Nataraja Siva from South India one thinks that the colonists perhaps came from Southern India." *(P. Nath Bose)*

the Brahmin Temple in Bangkok and heard the Brahmin priests recite the Tamil verses used in the 'Triambavay — Tirupavay' a swinging festival at the coronation of their Kings. He has shown that the verses are actually the first two songs of Manickavasagar's Thiruvempavai. For a further account of this ceremony and a discussion on further research that should be undertaken by Tamil scholars in South-East Asian countries, I would refer you to the excellent article by Fr. Thani Nayagam appearing in the 1955, July Number of the *Tamil Culture* Magazine.

Before I close, I would bring to your notice certain facts which will enable you to understand more fully the study of the Indian influences in these colonies.

1. In most of the South-East Asian colonies the strong Dravidian cultural influence is stressed by the fact that the Saka Era, a distinctly South Indian Calendar, as opposed to the Vikrama Era of the Northerner, has been in vogue.

2. The New Year celebrated in many of these countries including Champa (Cambodia) and Ceylon is the Tamil New Year 13th-14th April. This is an ancient Tamil astronomical fixture going back to the Mohenjo-Daro period and continued through the Sangam Age. In Ceylon under the British it was termed Hindu, and has now come to be called 'Hindu' or 'Sinhalese'.

3. The Brahmins, most of them Saivites, mentioned in connection with the Indian Colonies were Tamils or South Indian 'adopted' Brahmins. This is a process referred to in one of the Upanishads, where it is stated that of the white, brown and dark Brahmins, the last were the cleverest because they knew all three Vedas, while the others knew only one and two respectively (Brihadaranyaka Upanishad).

4. In the purely religious inscriptions in these colonies Sanskrit was used by Vaishnavites and Mahayana Buddhists, and Pali by the Hinayana Buddhists, though they came from the South, because these

languages alone were considered fit vehicles for their respective religious pronouncements. Again, the Pallava Kings (Tondayars), though they were patrons of Sanskrit, became champions of Tamil after their conversion to Saivaism.

5. Rigid caste divisions were unknown among the early Tamils. The caste system, as we know it today, was brought into the South of India by Brahminism. In the maritime activity of the early Dravidians, the men who lived along the sea-coast, apparently, played the largest part. With the introduction of the Brahminical prejudice against fish and sea-faring activities (intentional or otherwise), may be said to have commenced the gradual weakening of the maritime enterprise and cultural expansion of the Dravidian peoples and of the Tamils in particular.

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Dialectal Variation in Eleventh Century Telugu

K. MAHADEVA SASTRI

The earliest extant literary work in Telugu is a translation of the Sanskrit Mahābhārata by Nannaya Bhatta in the 11th C. A.D. Prior to Nannaya, our knowledge of the condition of the Telugu language is derived solely from inscriptions which are available from about 600 A.D. The language of the early inscriptions differs much from that of Nannaya's Mahābhārata; it is more archaic and betrays closer affinities with other Dravidian languages of South India. But as we come down in point of time the language gradually changes approximating to that of Nannaya. Thus, for instance, the tatsama-laden prose style of the Koravi inscription of Chālukya Bhīma of the 10th C. is very much like the prose in the Āndhra Bhārata. The existence of a poetic tradition in the pre-Nannaya age is also indicated by a number of verse inscriptions belonging to this period.

Nannaya's Mahābhārata was written in the Mārga style — with a large admixture of the Sanskritic element, but basically the language was the living idiom of the day. Generally speaking there was not much difference between the literary and the spoken dialects in the Kavitraya period, *11th—13th* C. That difference came later when grammarians began to prescribe the language of the Bhārata as the standard of correct usage in literature. The literary dialect was not immune to change but it changed slowly, while the spoken language changed much faster. It is therefore necessary to study both these currents along parallel lines. We will then be in a position to appreciate the connection between the literary and the spoken dialects

— to see for instance, how the colloquialisms of one period become accepted in standard usage at a later time, how some are marginal cases as evident from the discussions and differing opinions of the grammarians over the question of their recognition, or how some forms or constructions become obsolete yielding place to new ones or again how some forms never get an entry into the literary dialect no matter how old or widely current they are. This study is necessary for properly understanding the development of the language.

The spoken language of the historical period has not been completely or correctly recorded for us anywhere. We have to piece together whatever information we could gather from various sources like the inscriptions, popular literature, commentaries and other works which are outside the classical tradition. For the age of Nannaya however, inscriptions are our only source. A study of nearly 60 Telugu inscriptions dated in the 11th century (published in Volumes IV, V, VI and X of the *South Indian Inscriptions*—Epigraphy department, Government of India, and in *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana districts*—Hyderabad Archaeological series) along with Nannaya's work shows the following dialectal differences in the language of that century.

1. In the orthography of modern Telugu, the arthānusvāra stands in the place of a lost anusvāra except in those places where it represents a lost syllable. The anusvāra was as a rule represented by the class nasal in the oldest Telugu inscriptions. The practice of dropping the nasal in pronunciation in certain words seems to have come into vogue as early as the 9th C. A.D. as indicated by the Pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla at Bezwada, in which metre requires the elision of the nasal in some places.

In the eleventh century inscriptions the form kūnturu occurs five times with the nasal, (*SII.* IV — 1010, X-8, IV-1161, 1015, V-1137), and once without it in spelling

(V-1125). Nannaya and later poets generally preferred forms in which the nasal was dropped after an initial long vowel. But Nannichodadeva, a poet ascribed to the 12th C. A.D. combined a word like *pōmdimi* with a tatsama word *bhāmḍamu* in *prāsa* indicating clearly that the nasal in the former was fully pronounced in his speech. Although not accepted in the Kavitraya literary tradition, the retention of the nasal in such words has continued down the centuries upto the present day and may be seen in the conservative dialect of the southern Andhra districts. For example, the words *kōmti, tōmka,* and *pēmḍa* are pronounced with the nasal in the Nellore district whereas they have become *kōti, tōka* and *pēḍa* in the Circars.

2. The loss of medial vowels by syncopation in nouns as well as in verbal roots is found in Nannaya's language, but it is carried to great lengths in colloquial Telugu. The Saiva poets Nannichōḍadeva and Pālkuriki Sōmanātha who belonged to the dēśi school used such forms more freely than Nannaya. For example, in Panḍitārādhya charitra of Pālkuriki Sōmanātha we frequently meet with words like *kasvu* (=*kasavu*), *targu* (=*tarugu*), *cerci* (=*cerici*), *civki* (=*civiki*), etc. Thus *koḍku* is used often for *Koḍuku* in the inscriptions.

3. In the inscriptional language, the nominative termination *-mu* in some words is dropped before the plural suffix *-lu* or before an oblique case ending with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel: *kuncālu* (*SII.* IV-1014), *angarangabhōgālaku* (X-58) *sakavarṣālu* (X-60), *tulāsankrānti nimityāna* (IV-1300). This feature is absent in Nannaya's language.

4. According to rules of Telugu grammar, a Sanskrit word can never enter into a compound with a Telugu word except as a tatsama. But we find quite a good number of compounds of Sanskrit and Telugu words, *vairisamāsas,* as they are called, in actual usage, and some of them also got

into literature. The compounds *nityapaḍi, divasapaḍi* are common in the inscriptions of this century.

There are three prayogas like this in Nannaya's Mahābhārata, viz., *karakanṭhuḍu, prāṇagoḍḍamu, jīvagarra.* Some grammarians tried to explain them away as tadbhavas. But the fact remains that in spite of the grammarians these forced themselves into literature and doubtless were freely used in the spoken language.

Nannichodadeva used many peculiar forms which point to the usage of his day, but examples of which are comparatively rare in the later period. These are semi-tatsamas like *barihikēs'abharambu, kaluhāragamdhi, haruṣās'rudhāralu,* and tatsamas like *mādhuryata, mārgi samghamu, sadyamiṣṭaphaladu,* etc. The word *nitya* (=*nityamu*) in the inscriptions is peculiar. There is also the unpāṇinian usage *kamalanētri* in an inscription dated 1075 A.D. (Epigraphica Indica IV-314).

5. The formation of the plural offers a case of a pronounced dialectal differentiation in the 11th C. language. Words which had l and r in the final syllable sometimes formed their plurals in -ḍlu in the inscriptions; *engiḍlu* (Sg. *engili*), *nīḍlu* (Sg. *nīru*) (*SII*. IV-1015) ; also compare *guḍlu* (*SII*. X-647). In Nannaya these plurals would be *engillu, nīllu,* and *gullu.* The -ḍlu plurals above became obsolete very soon and did not survive in modern Telugu.

6. The pronoun of the III person epicene plural is *vāru* in Nannaya. The dialectal form *vānḍru* is found in a contemporary inscription in the expression *ānḍuvānḍru* (*SII*. IV-1015). This is later than *vāru,* and is formed from the Singular *vānḍu* (< *avanṛu,* cognate with Tamil *avan*) with the plural suffix -ru. Later poets used *vānḍru* beside *vāru.* But as the latter gradually began to be used as the honorific singular *vānḍru* and *vānḍlu* (*vānḍu* ± *lu*) (> *vāllu*) became generalised for the III pl. Dr. C. Narayana Rao points out that *vānḍru* has not been used by kavitraya

and that it occurs first in literature in Potana's *Bhāgavata* X-1, 1526 (*History of Telugu Language*, Vol. II, p. 1162).

7. In some cases in the inscriptions the stem vowel is lengthened instead of lengthening the vowel of the conjunctive particle -nu as we find in Nannaya in the later language; *eppuḍūnu* (*SII* X-4) *i darmmuvu cēkoni stānapatulunu, dēvakarmmulunu, s'rī vaiṣṇavulūnu naḍapamggalavāru* (VI-139).

The conjunctive particle -um has survived in this period from Old Telugu as seen from the following example: *nīri nēlayum badi maṛuturu velijēnunum dana yillunu...* (*Corpus of Inscriptions*, No. 6).

8. Beside the regular conjugational form *iccitimi* I pl. past verb of the root *iccu* 'to give' we have a dialectal variant, and obviously an abridged form of this, *istimi*. Both these occur in the same inscription; *Mailajiyya paṇḍitulaku angarangabhōgālakun -ācandrārkamugān-iccitimi. Koṭṭyadona dakshināna Mallepeggaḍa ceruvu nivedyānaku istimi* (*SII*. X-58). Dialectal forms like *istimi* have continued to exist from that time onwards up to the present day. They are now current in the Ceded Districts. They are used also by some of the later poets as S'rīnātha, but according to rules of grammar they are still regarded as incorrect and banned in literature.

EXTRACT FROM THE LETTER OF SRI SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

...What Dr. Kamil Zvelebil says[1] about the fundamental contributions of the Tamilians to the culture of India and the world I fully agree with. But as you can see, what the Tamilians contributed is so much within the pan-Indian orbit that we also claim a share in the glory of Tamilakam as Indians. I can say, and say with the profoundest gratitude, that the devotional compositions of the Nayanmars and the Aẓvars—particularly of Manikka-Vasagar and others, have given me the highest spiritual exaltation. I am a great admirer of the Saiva Siddhanta, which is one of the Schools of Saiva Philosophy which we have in Bengal, Kashmir and elsewhere. The Chola bronzes are unique. But behind them is the tradition of bronze sculptures which are found in North Indian art also, antedating the Chola bronzes by several centuries. Tanjore, Chidambaram and Madurai are shrines of pan-Indian interest in which the entire Hindudom feels glorified. Tamilians have unquestionably made the basic things of Indian culture more profound and more extensive in many departments.

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[1] Dr. Kamil Zvelebil's 'An Appeal' published in October 1956 issue of *Tamil Culture* wherein he cites Eight Anthologies—Sangam lyrics, Thirukkural, Silappadhikaram, Hymns of Nayanmars and Alwars, Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy, Chola Bronzes, Pallava Temple Architecture as worthy of being counted among the world's treasures of literature and art.

News and Notes

NOMINATION OF DR. SETHU PILLAI TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE SAHITYA AKADEMI

The Executive Board of the Sahitya Akademi at its twelfth meeting held under the chairmanship of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has nominated Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, Head of the Department of Tamil, University of Madras, as a representative of Madras on the General Council of the Akademi.

TAMIL 'VERSITY FOR CEYLON URGED

The Tamil University Movement has asked the Prime Minister for a date to discuss with him the question of setting up a Tamil University in Ceylon. The leaders of the movement, in a communication to the Prime Minister, have pointed out the need for an independent Tamil University to ensure the preservation and protection of Tamil culture and learning. They contend that the present university at Peradeniya cannot cater to the needs of the Tamil population of the country and that it does not have the Tamil cultural and spiritual atmosphere.

The Movement is not content with the suggestion recently made by the Prime Minister that such a university should only be a cultural university. The leaders say that there is nothing called a cultural university unless the Prime Minister has in mind an institution like Santiniketan. The leaders will ask the Prime Minister that the university be an academic institution conferring academic and professional degrees. They are of the view that the Tamil University should be situated either in the Northern or Eastern Province.

The Hindu—25-8-1957.

HINDI AS INDIA'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

AN APPEAL TO THE PRIME MINISTER

1. This is NOT a Political Issue

The opposition to the introduction of Hindi as the official language of the Union is shared by all the sections of the people of South India, although, except the politicians, the others are not clamorous about it. The evidence given by the Madras Government before the Official Languages Commission shows that Congressmen in the south are also opposed to it, the exigencies of party discipline merely serving to tone down the emphasis. The official, business, and educational sections are naturally afraid to oppose the party in power openly.

2. Sentiment or Convenience?

The culture of India has always been expressed in its various regional languages. Its homogeniety has not suffered thereby. The need for preserving and developing the regional languages is admitted on all hands. They have roots that dive down into the hearts of the people. Hindi is now being sponsored on an all India basis only as an administrative language. There is thus no question of sentiment here, but only one of convenience. Such sentiment as is displayed is a vague political hankering after uniformity, which is confused with unity.

3. The Pros and Cons

Sentiment is an insufficient argument in itself, and is positively dangerous in the face of opposition from large sections of the people whose interests are against the imposition. This opposition is based on the legitimate misgiving that those to whom Hindi is the mother tongue will attain a proficiency in it that others can never hope to achieve, and thus secure for themselves an unfair advantage in official and other fields. The handicap to the others will be permanent. The discrimination may be unconscious, but will nevertheless be real.

It is not disputed that the change-over from an existing and familiar medium to a new and untried one will entail inconvenience. What are the compensating advantages? None that we can see.

One can understand sentiment in favour of a national language, as against a foreign language, though the sentiment may be politically fallacious. But sentiment in favour of a new official language, as such, in preference to the one that already exists, is artificial. If it is hoped that at some time in the future, Hindi will become the spoken language of all classes in all parts of India, there may be a purpose and a meaning in the present proposal; but this is clearly an impossible hope.

4. English Offers the MAXIMUM of Convenience

English has to continue as the medium of learning at the highest levels, especially in the fields of science and technology, and all other branches of modern knowledge so far as India is concerned. It is the major language of International intercourse. It is the world's premier language for trade and commerce. It functions usefully in India at the present day, in all walks of life. To replace English is clearly to throw away an available advantage.

5. The imposition of Hindi, far from promoting national unity, will underline fissiparous tendencies

National unity is the result of complex factors. A single language, spoken as the MOTHER TONGUE, by a compact group of people, no doubt contributes to a feeling of oneness, but national unity by no means depends on the existence of one language. If it is imposed by authority on an unwilling section, all the arguments in its favour notwithstanding, it is the surest incentive to the acceleration of differences. That such is the bare truth is proved by the opposition to Hindi even from the Punjab and Bengal, although Punjabi and Bengali have great affinities with Hindi. On the other hand, small countries like Switzerland, and large countries like Canada, where more

than one language has been made official, are examples of national unity based on a recognition of the existence of multi-lingual groups.

6. The Principles of Democracy

Where large parts of the country are affected adversely, and such injury is made manifest to the Government, the procedure of the Parliamentary vote has but a limited significance. It is a negation of the basic principle of democracy, namely, respect and protection of vital minority interests, and not the tyrannous use of the majority vote.

Further, in the context of the present issue, there is a misapprehension about those opposed to Hindi being in a minority. It is not as if those in favour and against are spread all over the country in varying proportions. The whole of South India is opposed to the official policy. This is not the same as a minority of numbers only. It is the opposition of a part of the country itself.

7. The Constitutional Grounds are the least Valid

The plea of constitutional sanctity sounds weak to those who are hurt by the Hindi policy ; especially as the Articles that find disfavour with the Government are being changed in every session of Parliament. At the time of the framing of the Constitution, anti-British feeling had not subsided. It is also disclosed that, within the Congress party, the proposal for making Hindi the official language did not secure a majority vote on the first two occasions, and that even on the third occasion, it was accepted by a majority of one vote. If the present Constitutional principle of two thirds majority is invoked, the party vote is seen to be no sanction in favour. Besides, the vote is a reflection of the equal strength of division in the country itself.

8. The Date Line for Hindi

Those who urge the introduction of Hindi at a later date do not all support it on the same grounds. Some are anxious to put off the evil day. Some hope that postponement may lead to abandonment. On the other hand, there

are others who think that given time, Hindi will develop and eventually claim its place on merits. A few want to give the non-Hindi speaking peoples time to become more proficient in it. In this welter of confused and contradictory thinking, the main issue, whether there are sufficient reasons to change the *status quo*, is ignored.

Speaking for the people of the south, if as we believe they are opposed to Hindi on grounds of fair play and justice, and if, as seems clear to us, there are no advantages in replacing English as an official language, then, in the interests of national unity, and the eradication of centrifugal forces, it is imperative that the present Hindi policy should be abandoned. There is already a feeling that the south is being neglected by the centre. This may or may not be the whole truth. But it is political unwisdom to feed this fear by facilitating the domination of the rest of India by Hindi speaking people. It is to be hoped that when the champions of Hindi get over their initial disappointment, their innate patriotism will assert itself, and show them the necessity for unity based on understanding.

9. The next step is with the Prime Minister

On this issue of the official language, in which different groups and different states are working at cross purposes, and there has developed a sorry state of emotional disintegration, no one save the Prime Minister can interfere with impartiality, reconcile the differences, and place the national interest above all else. We appeal to him to step in, and bring about a reconsideration of the entire issue, so that the spirit of true freedom is maintained, and not sacrificed at the altar of what we respectfully submit, is the over-zealous love, on the part of some, for their own language.

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Mr. S. Chellaswamy (Secretary, Union Language Convention)

—*The Indian Express* : 29-10-1957.

ARCHITECTURAL AND SCULPTURAL MONUMENTS OF INDIA

A Review of this was published in the 1957 January issue of *Tamil Culture,* Vol. VI, No. 1, vide page 79. This map is available at M/s. N. M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Princess Street, Bombay-2 and its price is Rs. 5/-: or Sh. 10/- : or $ 1.50.

BOOKS RECEIVED

PROFESSOR P. SUNDARAM PILLAI COMMEMORATION VOLUME. Published by The South India Saiva Siddhantha Works Publishing Society, Tinnevelly Ltd., 1/140, Broadway, Madras-1. Pages 179. Price Rs. 8/-.

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(,, calm)
இ	—	i	(,, sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(,, machine)
உ	—	u	(,, full)
ஊ	—	u:	(,, rule)
எ	—	e	(,, fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(,, able)
ஐ	—	ai	(,, aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(,, opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(,, opium)
ஔ	—	au	(,, now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(,, church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(,, card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with blade of tongue.
	த	—	th	(,, threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(,, pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(,, atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex-articulate with tip of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(,, sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(,, angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(,, urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(,, anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(,, mate)
	ன	—	n	(,, enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with tip of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(,, yard)
	ர	—	r	(,, red)
	ல	—	l	(,, leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with tip of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(,, very)
	ழ	—	l-	(,, ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(,, hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with blade of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x	(,, ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant :—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

   e.g., பக்கம் – is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant* :—

   e.g., பங்கம் – is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் – „ panjam, not pancam,

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t : which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimu n it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e g , Tamil = Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants						Soft consonants						Medium consonants					
		k	c	t	th	p	ṟ	ng	nj	n·	nh	m	.n	y	r	l	v	ḻ	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	ற	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஆ ā	ா to the right of the consonant	கா					றா			ணா			னா						
இ i	ி to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ ī	ீ to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கீ																	
உ u	a semi circle ( ), a vertical stroke (or a loop) to be *joined* to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	று	ஙு	ஞு	ணு	நு	மு	னு	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழு	ளு
ஊ ū:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	றூ	ஙூ	ஞூ	ணூ	நூ	மூ	னூ	யூ	ரூ	லூ	வூ	ழூ	ளூ
எ e	ெ to the left of the consonant	கெ																	
ஏ ē	ே to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ை to the left of the consonant	கை								ணை			னை			லை			ளை
ஒ o	ெ to the left & ா to the right of the consonant	கொ					றொ			ணொ			னொ						
ஓ ō.	ே to the left & ா to the right	கோ					றோ			ணோ			னோ						
ஔ au	ெ to the left & ள to the right	கௌ																	
மெய் pure consonants	A dot · on the top of the consonant	க்																	

Note—(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel அ (a) has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under க (k) are shown as a guide in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under க (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored

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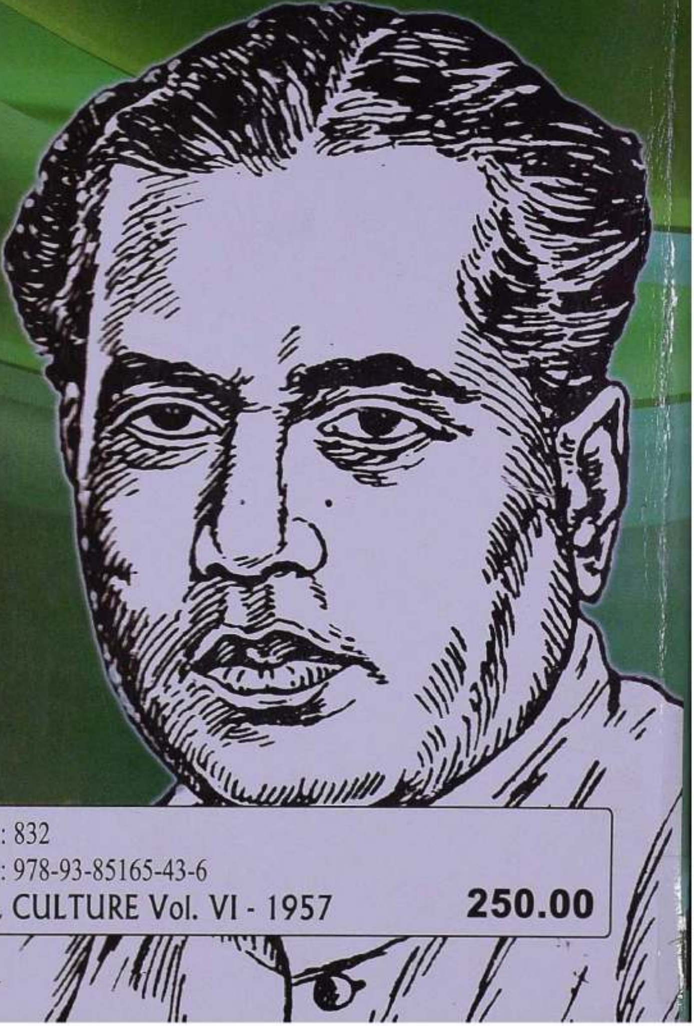

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